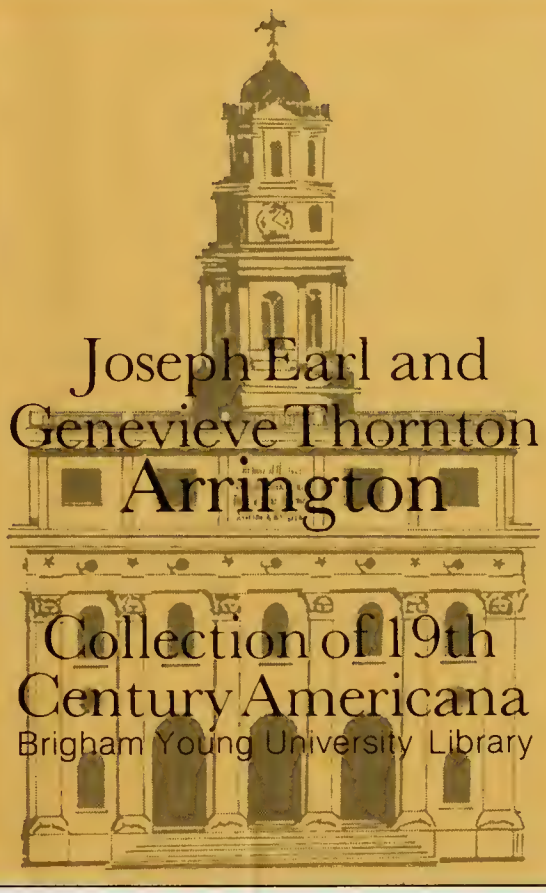

Joseph Earl and Genevieve Thornton Arrington

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A. *Umpire.* D. D. *Combatants.* S. S. *Seconds.*

W. W. *Witnesses for the party on the left of the Umpire.* V. V. *Witnesses for the party on the right of the Umpire.*

The Surgeon and Spectators are not represented.

See Page 49

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TRAVELS

IN THE

NORTH OF GERMANY,

IN THE YEARS 1825 AND 1826.

BY HENRY E. DWIGHT, A.M.

New-York:

G. & C. & H. CARVILL.

1829.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK, ss.

L S BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, and in the fifty-third year of the independence of the United States of America, Henry E. Dwight, of the said district, has deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit:—

"Travels in the North of Germany, in the years 1825 and 1826. By Henry E. Dwight, A. M."

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled "An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

FREDERICK J. BETTS,
Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

Ludwig & Tolefree, Printers.

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PREFACE.

Most of the following letters were written in Germany, in the years 1825 and 1826, and forwarded to my friends in the United States. As they were composed, while living under the influence of the institutions of that country, they present the exact impressions which were then made on my mind. Germany has been, until within a few years, a *terra incognita* to most Americans; as, during a long period our intercourse with that country ceased, and even since the peace of Paris, German literature has excited but little interest in Great Britain, the principal channel through which we have become acquainted with the intellectual and religious state of that continent.

In these letters, I have endeavoured to present a view of the religious, literary, and political institutions of northern Germany, and their influence on society. As the sects, the present state of religion, the schools, and the universities appeared to me the most striking features of Germany, I have devoted a considerable

part of my work to these subjects. That they will interest the reader as much as myself I can not even hope, but I trust that he will find some novelty in the sketches I have drawn; and the subjects I am confident can not be devoid of interest to an intelligent mind. If from the view which I have here presented of the most interesting nation on the continent, the Reader should be led to study the language of Germany, he will find in its literature, sources of pleasure which will add not a little to his happiness, and in some degree lighten that burden of care and suffering from which no one is exempted.

As it was impossible for the author to remain long in the city of New-York, the publishers were under the necessity of printing this work in one-third the usual time. The Reader is requested, on this account, to excuse a few errors which have unavoidably appeared.

HENRY E. DWIGHT.

New-Haven Gymnasium,
May 6, 1829.

TRAVELS, &c.

LETTER I.

STRASBURG, JUNE, 1825.

DEAR ———,

My last letter will apprize you of my departure from Paris, and of my arrival in this city, which was once so celebrated for its commerce, and for its influence over that region which borders the Rhine. During peace it was a central point for the merchants of France and Germany; while in war the armies of those countries marched towards it, to acquire possession of so important a fortress. Louis XIV., in the year 1694, captured Strasburg, since which time it has belonged to France. Its fortifications are extensive, and require from eight to ten thousand men to defend them. The enterprize, for which the inhabitants of this city were formerly so distinguished, has nearly ceased; as the restrictions, which now exist on the navigation of the Rhine, have withered its commerce. Before the French revolution, most of the tobacco for the western part of this kingdom was manufactured here, and several thousand persons were employed in the preparation of this article, but since the year 1795, its manufactures have greatly declined. It contains at the present time four thousand five hundred houses, and fifty-three thousand inhabitants.

The charm which is thrown over the mind of the traveller while beholding Strasburg, is not derived from its historical associations. No one can approach it without finding these fade away, as the sight of the spire of its cathedral bursts upon his view. This noble object, which is 490 feet in height, rises to a greater elevation than any other monument of art, except the Pyramids. It catches the first rays of the sun before the city which lies

beneath it is illumined; and they linger on its summit, long after twilight has mantled the spires and domes which rise near its base. It is at the latter hour that it appears in all its glory, burnished as it is by the rich golden light which seems to penetrate it: it is at such a time, that the charm of Gothic architecture overpowers the soul. Although eight centuries have elapsed since it was commenced, and nearly five since its completion, it still exhibits most of its original beauty; for time, while mouldering other towers and temples has spared it, as if unwilling to injure the most beautiful specimen of Gothic art which ever pierced the sky. *Il duomo*, or the great cathedral of Milan, is a more splendid edifice, and with its six thousand statues and bas reliefs, is a more brilliant object. The hundred spires which rise on its roof, will probably for ever remain unequalled, as an exhibition of magnificence: still, for beauty of Gothic ornament, for almost inconceivable lightness of architecture, and for gigantic altitude, the tower and spire of the cathedral of Strasburg, will for ever challenge a competitor.

It is composed of dark red sand stone, which has been rendered still darker by the revolution of centuries, and it now presents that venerable appearance visible on those monuments only which have "ages for their dower." The ornaments are more beautiful, and its lofty windows more magnificent, than those of any modern edifice; while the proportion is so perfect, that you search in vain for any defect. By means of a succession of staircases, and by near seven hundred steps, you wind your upward way through tower and spire, until arriving within a few feet of the summit, you look down upon an extensive city, and a rich landscape spreading around you, through which the Rhine meanders, while in the distance the Black Forest with its lofty mountains terminates the view. The work of the upper part of the spire is so slight, that small bars of iron are placed across the openings to prevent you from falling. Even with this assistance, it is only with the utmost caution that you are enabled to reach the summit. You feel afraid to linger, and find it almost impossible to convince yourself, that such a structure can resist the slight breeze which fans you; and with a slow and cautious step you descend, that you may again tread the humble region which lies so far beneath.

The interior does not correspond with the exterior in magnificence. It is too small for its façade, and its great nave is too low to correspond with a tower of such altitude. It surpasses, however, all Gothic edifices I have seen, in the solemnity of its interior. No other structure presents windows of such colouring, where light is thrown into hues so brilliant and so variegated, or where they blend and are contrasted with so intense beauty. It is the only edifice which ever made me feel the solemn gloom I had anticipated, on entering a Gothic cathedral of the old world. Here I found it more than realised, and felt how admirably such edifices are fitted to excite the passions of a superstitious age. The monuments which you meet in these structures, remind you not only that you will ere long be numbered with the dead, but, in the images and bas reliefs which adorn them, they tell you of the virtues of those who are there reposing. The paintings which rise above the altars, often relate the miracles of the great founder of our religion, or of some of the saints who imitated his example, in all the power of poetry; a poetry, too, which more than the "poet's pen, bodies forth the forms of things unknown," and gives them a reality. Others delineate that awful day, when the graves shall open, and the Judge shall condemn the wicked, or present a view of that world of anguish whose gates are barred for ever. This art has done more for the Catholic religion, than the Inquisition with all its racks and tortures. It is more concise than logic or even mathematics, as it reveals at a glance all that the soul dreads or hopes for; and not unfrequently carries a conviction to the heart, which no arguments can efface. Such paintings are doubly powerful from the gloomy light by which they are seen, which corresponds so admirably with the subjects delineated. To the ignorant, they reveal the future, and around it they throw a solemnity as awful as eternity. I could easily realize, that in the zenith of the Catholic religion, before the light of Protestantism had in some measure penetrated the gloom of these edifices, that no one could enter them without becoming still more superstitious, and without finding his reason at times overpowered by feeling, as through their almost holy light, he saw the solemn ceremonies of the Catholic church, when at the height of its power.

I attended military mass on the Sabbath, when several regiments were present. They entered by the loud beat of the drum, and marching up through the long nave of the cathedral, arranged themselves in lines on each side of it. The drums continued to send forth their martial peals, long after they had entered, which were echoed and re-echoed by the arches, until the whole edifice seemed to be filled with thunder. Amid this tumult, the orders "to dress," "to the right face," with the jarring sounds of more than a thousand muskets struck against the pavement as they ordered arms, excited emotions more in unison with the church militant on earth, than with one whose kingdom is not of this world. The band then played several pieces of religious music, which, separated from the parade we had just witnessed, would have produced a powerful effect; but connected as they were with the pomp and pageantry of war, they excited emotions very different from those usually felt, while listening to such strains. An exposition of the host, before which at the beat of the drum, officers and soldiers kneeled, terminated the ceremony. No religious admonitions were heard, nothing to remind them of a future world of purity and joy; but every thing was mechanical and military. How pure is the simple, unostentatious worship of Protestantism, when compared with such a pageant: how different in its influence on the heart, and on the life!

As soon as the traveller approaches the Rhine, he discovers his proximity to another country. German faces meet him wherever he moves, while German gutturals are every where heard. In Strasburg this language has stood its ground for more than a century, and is spoken at the present time much more than the French. As it is much less pure here, than in the centre of Germany, its gutturals present a striking contrast to the soft flowing language of Paris. The Tuscan in the mouth of a Roman lady, is perhaps more melodious than any other language; still nothing I have yet heard is so flowing, or so full of *naivetè*, as the conversation of an animated Parisienne. You discover the same difference in the forms, in the walk, and in the dress of the Strasburgers, when contrasted with the inhabitants of the metropolis. The grace, the light airy step, and the sylph-like forms, you so frequently meet in the Tuileries, and on the Boulevards, you will search for here in

vain. The heavy German tread, the moping walk, and the want of *la mode*, all remind you that you are beyond the reach of Parisian influence. Their faces have more colour than those of the ladies of the capital, but they are destitute of that expression which forms the most striking feature of French beauty. It is true that the veins of its citizens have not a little of the blood of their conquerors flowing in them; still there is too much of the German remaining, to remind one of the beau ideal of the canvass, or of the *belle vivante* of many of the French and Italian cities.

In this city is a University, which was founded in 1621. During the storms of the Revolution it rapidly dwindled, and for a number of years it ceased to exist. Since that period it has revived, but at the present time it is far from being flourishing. For a long time it was resorted to by many of the German youth, even after Strasburg had fallen into the hands of Louis XIV. A medical school is now connected with it, which is more flourishing than either of the other faculties. The anatomical cabinet of the University is one of the most extensive collections I have seen. As the metropolis presents advantages in the pursuit of anatomy and surgery, so much superior to those of any other city in Europe, the school of Strasburg will probably never rise to great distinction.

There has also been established here, a seminary for educating Protestant clergymen, which has from thirty to fifty students. The lectures are delivered in German, and the students are designed to fill the vacancies in the Protestant congregations bordering the Rhine. This school, until within a few years, has been Lutheran in its sentiments, but at the present time it is inclining to Neologism. Only one Calvinistic professor is attached to it. The number of Protestants, in this part of the kingdom, it is impossible to state with precision, as the census is never taken, as in Germany, with reference to the different sects. From the number of congregations which exist, it has been satisfactorily ascertained, that they amount to several hundred thousand. I have heard them estimated, by several of the Protestant clergymen, as high as from four to six hundred thousand. When the French conquered Strasburg, there were not a dozen Catholic families in this city. There are at present seven Protestant, and six Catholic churches.

During the reign of Napoleon, the Protestants were strongly attached to him, as under his dynasty they enjoyed equal rights with their brethren. He never allowed any religious faith to operate as an impediment to promotion, while he permitted them, for the first time for more than a century, to enjoy their worship without the least restraint. This liberality attached the Protestants to him in every part of France. On his return from Elba, Strasburg was one of the first cities which raised the tri-coloured flag. The persecutions and infamous massacres of their brethren in the south of France, soon after the battle of Waterloo, have done little to attach them to the reigning dynasty, distinguished as the Bourbons ever have been, for their bigotry and hatred of Protestantism, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the present time. In the province of Bas Rhine, or that part of Alsace of which Strasburg is the capital, there were in ten years four hundred and sixty criminal prosecutions, and only four of them were against Protestants, who form nearly two-fifths of the population. Such a fact speaks volumes in favour of the moral influence of this religion on society.

LETTER II.

Cologne, June, 1825.

The ride soon after leaving Strasburg became very monotonous, as the plain of the Rhine was covered for miles with immense fields of wheat, stretching off towards the horizon. The Rhine here and there was visible in the distance, but too remote, to enable me to catch a good view of its scenery. As the banks here are low we should probably have gained nothing by approaching them. The valley of the Rhine is proverbial in Europe for its fertility, and at this time appears to be groaning under the weight of its produce. This will explain the reason, why it has been coveted for centuries by those monarchs whose territories are situated near it, and why so many battles have been fought in its vicinity. Its great fertility has always recommended it to France; and to gain possession of it, she has in her numerous wars, spent sufficient money to purchase all the wheat that ever rose above its surface, and lost soldiers enough to cultivate it from generation to generation. She has coveted it, however, more than wealth or blood, as it is the great granary of the interior of Europe, without which her invading armies could not be fed. Could Father Rhine, as the German poets call this stream, rise from figurative to real existence, he would be able to tell a tale at which the world would shudder.

We dined at Lauterbourg, the frontier town of France. Immediately after leaving this village we entered Germany. This part of Germany belongs to Bavaria, and extends to within a mile of Worms. Hesse Darmstadt separates it from the greater portion of Bavaria, and in case of war with France, it would be impossible for the latter power to protect it. Its population at the present time, amounts to about four hundred thousand. The villages here are built less compactly than those of France. The houses are formed of wooden frames, the beams running in every direction. Between them the cavities are filled up with brick, or with small stones and mortar. Like many of those in Switzerland, they are

whitewashed, and at a distance are pretty objects in the land of verdure. The floors are usually of wood, a luxury unknown in a French village, and very agreeable to me, after treading the brick and stone pavements of the houses of France and Italy, for nearly two years. The similarity of these villages, and the uniformity of the landscape give a monotony to the ride: for even a field of wheat waving in the wind, however beautiful it may be to a poet's eye, becomes tiresome when extending around you like the ocean. There was little in the view to awaken thought, or rivet our attention, until we arrived at Speyers. This city, with Worms through which we passed the next day, excited no little interest when I recollected, that in the former, the Protestants assembled in the year 1529, and presented that memorable protest, from which they derived their name.

Mayence, one of the principal cities of Hesse Darmstadt, derives not a little of its importance from its proximity to the Mayne, which unites with the Rhine here. It was formerly much distinguished for its commerce, and during the reign of Napoleon was very flourishing. Since the peace of Paris it has lost much of its commercial importance, in consequence of the great restrictions placed upon the navigation of the Rhine by Prussia. The course pursued by the different monarchs whose territories border this stream, seems almost incomprehensible to one living in a country where few commercial restrictions exist. This is without any, exception the noblest river of Europe, not excepting the Danube, if you refer to its soil, and to the intelligence and enterprize of its inhabitants. On no other stream is the population equally dense, and on the borders of no other does the eye behold a greater fertility. Within fifty miles of its current, more than seven millions of inhabitants are residing, who in wealth and enterprize are not surpassed by any others on the continent. With such a population enjoying a free commerce, it would soon be covered with steamboats, and the masts of its shipping would remind one of the Black Forest near which it meanders. Were the river and the country adjoining it united in one kingdom, and still more, were it a part of France, it would in a few years rival every other stream on the earth, in the number of its vessels, and in its commercial activity. If the monarchs, through whose territory it flows, would

adopt a liberal policy and remove all those obstacles which now exist to a free navigation, most of the enterprize which marks the English character would here be seen; and the complaint of poverty, which is now so universally heard on its borders would be unknown.

At the congress of Vienna the allied Sovereigns declared, that the navigation of those rivers which traverse one or more of the states of this country, should be entirely free to their mouths, to all who should conform to the regulations made; and that these should be uniform to all, and as favourable as possible to the commerce of all nations. You will recollect that the proceedings of this congress, commence with, *In the name of the very holy and indivisible Trinity.* We will now see how far they have complied with their declaration. I have been informed by a gentleman of Mayence, that every *stuck** of wine going from this city to Holland, pays eighty guldens in passing through the Prussian Rhine provinces. In entering the waters of the Rhine within the territory of the King of the Netherlands, in order to pass into the Atlantic; another charge is made, I believe, little if any inferior to that of Prussia. The wine and other productions of Switzerland and of Baden, have not only to encounter these exactions, but those also which the goverments of Hesse Darmstadt and of Nassau choose to impose. The vine is the principal article of cultivation on this part of the Rhine. From the reputation which these wines enjoy, were the commercial restrictions which now exist removed, this region would in a few years become one of the wealthiest parts of the world. Much of the wine made on this river is *ordinary wine;* and consequently the more valuable kinds only can be exported. The Hochheimer, the Johannisberg, and a few others, will always command such a price, that even this tax will not lessen the amount of foreign consumption. The lands which produce these valuable wines, are almost exclusively in the possession of the wealthy; while the peasantry and citizens, who own those of an inferior quality can find no market for their produce, or are

* A stuck contains rather more than 200 gallons. A gulden is about two and a half francs. In the autumn of 1826, the ordinary wine cost less than the casks which contained it.

compelled to dispose of it at so low a rate as not to compensate them for their labour. A stuck of this wine will not sell here for half the price which the Prussian government demands of the merchant for its passage through the Rhine provinces. As the inhabitants of this part of Prussia are exempted from this tax, they can supply Holland with all the ordinary wine necessary for her consumption.

Mayence contains twenty-five thousand inhabitants, exclusive of its garrison, which amounts to six thousand men. It is one of the strongest fortresses on the Rhine, and in the wars of the French revolution was a frequent scene of conflict. The French obtained possession of it, for the last time, in 1797, and retained it until 1814, when it fell into the hands of its original owners. The Congress of Vienna gave it to Hesse Darmstadt, but at the same time made it one of the fortresses of the Confederation. In consequence of this arrangement, it is now garrisoned by Austria and Prussia, the prominent powers of this union, who have placed a *corps* of six thousand men within this fortress, for fear that it may fall again into the hands of their old enemy. Their hostility to France, together with the fear that the grand Duke might not be able to defend it, induced them to unite in securing it against any attack. Its great importance prevented them from consenting that either party should occupy it alone; they concluded, therefore, to divide the apple between them. This, I believe, is the only instance in Europe where a city belonging to a third party is garrisoned by the troops of two other powers. Notwithstanding they fought together in the emancipation of Germany, there is very little cordiality of feeling at the present time. Scarcely a month passes, without a contest between the troops of these nations, which not unfrequently terminates in blood.

The Rhine, which is here rather more than two thousand feet in breadth, is the favourite stream of the Germans. It has become endeared to them from its historical recollections, which are more interesting than those of any other river, except the Tiber, as well as from the fertility of its soil, and the delightful wines which it annually yields. Their poets adorn their pages with imagery derived from its borders, and in not a small number of the songs, of the students, whether patriotic or Bacchanalian, "Father Rhine" appears in some one of his costumes, as one of the great objects of their terres-

trial adoration. Its varied scenery, from the Tyrol to Cologne, attracts thousands of Germans yearly to its borders, which they traverse with a pleasure rarely enjoyed on any other stream ; while among many of the students, a pilgrimage to the Rhine is almost as indispensable, as is that to Mecca to the sincere believer in the Koran. It is here a noble stream, and the only one I have seen in Europe which reminded me of the rivers in the United States. A bridge of boats is thrown across it, on which you pass with as much comfort as over those of stone, which arch the Seine. This species of bridge, which I have never seen, when travelling in my own country, is so simple, so cheap, and at the same time so convenient, that it is surprising that we have never introduced it. It is composed of fifty-six boats, well ballasted, that they may not yield too easily to the current, and which are anchored in a straight line, with chain cables. The force of the stream carries them down, until they have let out all their length of cable. They are then parallel to each other, their bows being turned to the current. Large beams extend from boat to boat, and across them at right angles planks are placed. A bridge is thus formed in a few days. As winter approaches, it is taken to pieces to avoid the floating ice, and on the approaching spring it resumes its place again.

This city has lost most of its importance to the eye of the mere merchant, in consequence of the diminution of its commerce. It will, however, always hold a prominent place in history, not merely for the besieging armies it has repelled, but for being associated with one of the most important events in the history of man, the invention of printing. I looked in vain for a monument worthy of its celebrated inhabitant.

Mayence, like most of the cities on the Rhine, presents a number of objects of curiosity. The towns of Europe have so often changed masters, from the time of the Roman to the Gallic Cæsar ; so many monuments of their subjugation and of their prosperity still remain; they have risen so often from poverty to grandeur, or sunk into insignificance; that they present numerous vestiges of their former prosperity, and excite a powerful interest in the mind of a stranger. In passing through the United States we rarely look at our cities as they are, but sketch pictures of them as they will appear one or two ages after we have left the stage. In Europe,

however, the future never comes into view. Every ancient edifice, every feudal or Roman monument, even the conversation of those with whom you associate, transport your mind to an age which has long since passed away. You cannot look around you without seeing the ravages of time, without feeling that every thing bears the stamp of ages. A Neapolitan peasant will talk to you about the villa of Cicero or of Lucullus, or offer to conduct you to the grotto of the Sybil, while his son offers you coins, which he will attempt to prove to be a true Trajan, an Augustus, or Nero, from the expression, the beard, or the costume.

Having crossed the Alps, you have not left the Romans behind you. Wherever you travel on the Rhine, you find some vestige of them, and your Cicerone of Mayence will talk very learnedly about the antique, will shew you where the camp of Martius Agrippa was situated, point to the fortifications constructed by Drusus, and tell how one of the legions which conquered Jerusalem was garrisoned in his native city. These remains of Roman art excite no little interest, as connected with the history of this region, but are very inferior to those which I have described in my previous letters. There is here a miserable gallery of pictures, and a noble library of ninety thousand volumes, containing some of the earliest specimens of typography.

At Strasburg I bade adieu to Gothic Architecture. The cathedrals which I have since seen are entirely Saxon, or Saxon and Gothic united. This order, which is principally confined to Germany, is much less beautiful than the Grecian, and greatly inferior in magnificence to the Gothic. It has very little grace or beauty of proportion, nothing to relieve the eye from that heaviness with which these edifices seem to press the earth. But though destitute of the symmetry and magnificence of southern and northern architecture, they are still very interesting in an historical point of view, and like the old feudal castles, transport you to a distant age, and people it with inhabitants. There is a very fine specimen of this order in the cathedral of this city. It is composed of deep red sand stone, which retains its colour after the lapse of six centuries. The walls of the interior are almost literally covered with the monuments of its great men, many of which contain the ashes of its Electors. They are too burdened with ornament to afford much pleasure to

any one who has seen the beautiful tombs of the Popes in Saint Peters, and excite interest only as they awaken historical recollections, or as they present a connected view of the progress of sculpture during several centuries.

I am now in the midst of the crowd of travellers just returning from Italy. Like the birds of our western forest, they are all going one way, to the north; but in a few months their faces will be turned towards the Alps; and diligences, vetturas, and post horses, in great numbers, will be put in requisition, to transport the throngs of English, Germans, Russians, and others, to a warmer climate. When you once get into this current of emigration, it is about as difficult to find comfortable accommodations, as it is for a rear battallion of one of our armies of pigeons to procure a good supper in the New-England states. It is much less disagreeable here than in Italy, where there is sometimes but one road, over which these caravans of travellers pass. There are so many outlets from Italy between Trieste and Nice, that on the return of these armies to the north of Europe, they divide and spread from the bay of Biscay to the Vistula. Among the legions of princes, dukes, soldiers, students, dandies, tailors, half pay officers, mothers, spinsters, and maidens, which issue through the passes of the Alps, and spread like a fan over the north of Europe, John Bull is every where to be seen. Enter a gallery, or a *café*, or palace, or ascend a mountain, there is John. Ramble along some stream, or on a public promenade, you will certainly see him again. Walk to a neighbouring hill to indulge your feelings, while examining a feudal castle, and before you have reached it, you will see half a dozen of John's daughters, with their port folios on their knees, sketching a distant view of the edifice. Enter it, and some two or three more, with their tall brothers, and bowing cousins, will remind you that Monsieur Tonson has come again. Embark on board a *coche d'eau*, or steamboat, on any thing but a raft, you will certainly hear John swearing because the boat does not get under weigh. At the *table d' hôte* you will often hear more English spoken than the language of the country through which you are travelling; and rarely will you enter a diligence, or a hotel, without learning from the words *humbug* and *nonsense*, that John has arrived before you.

Before reaching the Rhine, I had anticipated the pleasure of seeing a steam-boat floating on its bosom, but I found with surprise that not one has been introduced here, although there are passengers enough for several passing up and down this stream, during the summer. As a substitute, they have a boat, called a *coche d'eau*, one of which starts every day for Coblentz. On board of one of these I embarked with about forty passengers. This water coach is fifty feet in length, by nine in breadth, with two cabins of fifteen feet each. As it is too small to admit of a refectory, you are under the necessity of stopping to procure your meals at the villages on shore. It is drawn a part of the way by two and three horses, which on a brisk trot carry you down with the aid of the current, at the rate of five and six miles an hour. These boats, which bear some resemblance in their form to those on the Erie canal, are small and inconvenient, and have nothing to recommend them but their cheapness. The journey to Cologne, about one hundred miles is made in two days, the passengers stopping to sleep at Coblentz. Were it not for the beauty of the scenery of this part of the Rhine, nothing could reconcile one to the ennui of a coche d'eau; but disagreeable as this is, you forget it as soon as you enter this feudal region. The river for a few miles after leaving Mayence presented very little to relieve the eye, or to reconcile us to our slow motion, retarded as we were by a strong head wind. Though our boatmen were tugging at the oar, we did not advance for some time, more than two and a half miles per hour. After several hours we came opposite the Rheingau, a tract of land of a bout fifteen miles in length by five or six in breadth, lying on the right bank of the river. This region produces the finest wine, and the land bears a heigher price than any other on this stream, some of it selling for ten thousand francs per acre. Within this small tract between forty and fifty kinds of wine are made. Near Geisenheim, is Johannesberg, a hill more celebrated than any other in Germany among the students and the epicures of this country. It furnishes a favourite image to their poets, conveying the idea of the *ne plus ultra* of enjoyment in relation to one of the senses. This hill belonged for several years to Marshal Kellerman, who received it as present from Napoleon. At the termination of the war of one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, it fell into the possession of the

Emperor Francis, who gave it to Prince Metternich, as a reward for his diplomatic services. It still belongs to the Prince, who visits his seat every year. This wine sells on the spot for ten francs, almost two dollars per bottle, though not a small part of it is disposed of in presents to this or that ruler, who has embraced the views of this director of the Holy Alliance. The land of this region is valued, not for its fertility but for the perculiar species of grape which it produces, and for its greater or less exposure to the sun. Parts of the same hill will sell for fifteen or eighteen hundred dollars the acre while the remainder will bring but one or two hundred, the wine which its yields being so much inferior. The soil changes so suddenly that often in the distance of fifty feet, the land increases in value more than tenfold.

At Bingen, twenty-five miles from Mayence, we stopped to dine, Just below this village, the feudal scenery of this river commences. The Rhine here contracts to one-third of its usual width, and the low banks rise to mountains, their sides being sometimes covered with vineyards, almost to the summit. The current here is much more rapid, and the views which open upon you, as you wind between these eminences, present a rich compensation for the previous monotony. On entering this passage, directly before you, in the middle of the stream is a small island, on which is still standing the ruins of an old tower. Tradition declares it to have been built by the Archbishop Hatto of Mayence, from the following circumstance. During a famine his palace was surrounded by the poor and indigent who were begging bread. Although his garners were filled, he drove them away, refusing to do any thing to alleviate their sufferings. They rebelled in consequence, when the Archbishop sent his satellites against them, and the prisoners they made were by his order placed in one of his granaries and burned to death. While the spectators were deeply affected, Hatto beheld the conflagration with pleasure, exclaiming, hear how these rats whistle. Heaven speedily punished him, by sending armies of rats to his palace, which became so numerous that he was compelled to fly to Bingen. These animals soon got on the scent of the Archbishop and pursued him to that town, where he was for a long time beseiged. Eventually to rid himself of his enemies, he caused a tower to be constructed on the island, to which he made his escape. They unwilling to lose the

prelate, swam over to it, and storming his citadel devoured him alive. This story is supposed to have been invented by the monks, who disliked the severity of the Archbishop's discipline, and like most of those in this legendary country, was the result of a fertile imagination, amusing itself with the credulity of the age.

The Rhine from Mayence to Bonn, will average from one-third to one half of a mile in breadth. Its current is from two and a half to three miles per hour, though for some miles south of Hatto's tower, where it is not over eight hundred feet broad, it is much more rapid. The hills or mountains which bound it between Coblentz and Bingen, are from six to eight hundred feet in height. They are usually terraced, sometimes half way to the summit, and covered with vineyards. They form fine swells, separated from each other by ravines, and are generally destitute of foliage, not one of them being crowned with a forest, and but few with shrubbery. They rarely if ever present that bold precipice and lofty crag, so necessary to genuine Alpine scenery, Their bases are spotted with villages, some of which are large and all of them of a brilliant white. The great charm however of this soil, is the feudal scenery on the banks of the Rhine. Between Bingen and Bonn, there are more than fifty of these monuments of an heroic age. They stand on the sides and on the projecting points of these hills, and are of every variety of form and in every state of preservation. At one time, nothing but a solitary tower lifts its walls high above its base; the next will have lost a few of its battlements, while all besides still stand, as if striving against its ultimate desolation. On the opposite side of the river, a third rises with its towers and battlements in the air, while its noble gates thrown open, apparently invite you to enter within its walls, and accept of the hospitality of its chief. You almost believe that you can see the sentinel pacing its ramparts and here the roar of festive mirth or the shout of triumph issuing from its gates, as the victorious warrior receives his crown from the hand of beauty.

I never realized, until after my arrival here, the superior enjoyment of an American to that of an European, when visiting these monuments of a distant age. The latter is familiar with castled scenery from his infancy, their images having been impressed upon his eye, long before he knew by whom they were erected. He

first views them as walls of stone, but why they were elevated thus he knows and cares not. He never walks or rides, without seeing them crowning the neighbouring hills; and from long familiarity, he in time regards them with as much indifference, as the rocks that lie beneath them. Even when more advanced in age, and after he has become acquainted with the history of the Barons who attacked and defended them with so much valour, he finds it difficult to behold them with any romantic feeling. Although his mind may be excited when he reads of their prowess, it is still difficult for him to indentify his feelings with objects, which have been familiar to him from his earliest recollections. The emotions of an American, however, are of a more vivid kind; in the brightest days of his boyhood, he became familiar with the stories of gallant knights, drawing their swords in defence of helpless beauty; he then dwelt with delight and admiration on the valour of the conqueror, and drew, with the colours of imagination, towers and battlements, until every idea associated with these scenes became dear to his mind. With recollections abounding in legend and chivalry, he visits Europe, and beholds those objects which he had so long desired to see, and around which his imagination had so long delighted to rove. He views them not as ruins of what they have been, but he is transported back to the period when they were in their glory. His imagination soon restores the towers and walls which time had levelled, peoples the castle with its chieftain and his band, and stores its saloons with helmets, swords, and bucklers, the trophies of their valour. Such were my own feelings nearly two years since, when first viewing one of these ruins, and notwithstanding I have seen more than two hundred since my arrival, I can not now look at them without feeling a new impulse given to my blood, when stopping to gaze upon their crumbling walls, or standing on their lofty towers.

The castles which border the Rhine, are in every state of decay, and of every variety of form. Often three or four of them are visible at the same time, and as you wind round the projecting promontory, new ones will come into view, appearing like the spirits of a stormy age revisiting the earth, as if to re-assert their ancient dominion. A few miles before reaching Coblentz, the sun threw the shadows of the western hills across the stream, and

continued for a long time to pour a rich flood of golden light upon these feudal ruins. Had they been adorned with ivy, they would have exhibited the perfection of castled scenery.

No part of the Rhine, unless the view near Bopport, is superior to that presented at Coblentz. This city, which contains 10,000 inhabitants, has little besides its scenery to recommend it as a residence; but this is so beautiful, that one might dream away a fortnight, with almost as much pleasure, as on the shores of Leman or Como. Opposite the city the celebrated fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, the *broad stone of honour*, has risen from its ruins. During the Revolution it was often besieged, and eventually taken by the French in 1799; after the peace of Luneville it was blown up, and remained demolished for a long period. Within a few years the Prussian government has rebuilt it, and it is now considered by military men as almost a second Gibraltar. This and the neighbouring fortifications, on the opposite side of the stream, so completely command the town and the river, that it cannot be taken. On the right bank of the Rhine near the city, is the tomb of the brave young Marceau, who fell in the battle near Altenkirchen. The monument, a truncated pyramid resting on a pedestal, is about twenty-five feet in height, and was erected in honour of this gallant officer by the army which he commanded.*

The Rhine widens as you approach Bonn, the scenery being more variegated, and the hills retiring from its banks. The views near this city are extremely beautiful, several of the distant summits being crowned with ruins. This whole country is the region of legend, and around most, if not all of the castles, a romance is floating, as interesting and poetical as the neighbouring scenery. The castle of Rolandsek, of which only one arch is now remaining, was the scene of a favourite legend with German lovers, and has been rendered still more poetical, by the beautiful ballad of Shiller, beginning

* The following is one of the four inscriptions on his monument: "Ici repose Marceau, né a Chartres Departement d'Eure et Loire, Soldat a XVI ans, General a XXII ans. Il mourut en combattant pour sa patrie le dernier jour de l'an IV. de la Rep. Franc. Qui que tu sois, ami ou ennemi de ce jeune heros, respecte ses cendres.

Ritter treue Schwesterliebe
Widmet euch dies Herz.

Bonn is now the seat of a University which in a few years has risen to great distinction. As the population of the Rhine provinces are more than half Catholic, the King of Prussia has established a fifth faculty, or has rather doubled one of them, viz. the Theological, of which there are two, a Protestant and a Catholic. There are now from eight to nine hundred students, and from fifty to sixty instructors. It has already more students than Heidelberg, or than any other University near the Rhine. Neihbuhr, the historian, and the son of the celebrated traveller, and Augustus Wilhelm Schlegel, have done more to attract students here than any of their brethren. The former, in the views which he has presented of ancient Roman history, however peculiar he may be in some of the opinions which he has formed, has persuaded not a small number of his countrymen to embrace them; and however theoretical his opponents may regard him, he will be admitted, even by them, to be a man of great research. His friends are not a little gratified to repeat to strangers, that it was Niehbuhr who first made the Italians acquainted with the existence of the *Institutions of Gaius*, and that, had it not been for his researches in the library of Verona, not even the librarians of that city would have ever discovered that such a manuscript had been lying for ages on their shelves.

This University is more indebted to Schlegel, than to any other man, for its rapid growth and increasing reputation. Schlegel is more extensively known in criticism than any other German; and by his writings, by his lectures delivered in Jena, in Vienna, and in other cities, has excited an interest in the literature of modern Europe, previously unknown in this country. His translations of several of the poets of the south and north, have raised him to the rank of the first translator of Germany. His long residence in many of the capitals of Europe, has enabled him to study minutely the character of the people whose literature he was perusing, and in his versions of the great poets of the south, as well as of Shakspeare, you find most of the spirit of the original, in a language perhaps more poetical than any other now spoken. Within a few years he

has been devoting much of his time to Oriental literature, and in several of the languages of the East, he has acquired a distinguished reputation as a scholar. He is now about fifty-eight years of age.

Cologne, with its lofty towers and spires, appears soon after leaving Bonn, and as you are borne towards it by the current it expands almost to a metropolis. It is surrounded by a high wall, strong enough to make smugglers despair of success, but very ill adapted to resist a besieging army. It extends up and down the Rhine about two miles, and about as far in the opposite direction; the streets are very narrow and dirty, and the private edifices are inferior to those of most of the large towns of Europe. After Rotterdam, it is the largest city on the Rhine, containing, in 1822, 56,420 inhabitants. Its commerce is small, owing to the restrictions I have already alluded to. Napoleon caused a large basin to be constructed here, to receive the vessels of Cologne, during the winter, that at the breaking up of the ice they might remain secure. I counted more than fifty of them lying here, and rapidly going to decay. About three thousand Prussian troops now garrison this city, which will increase the population to about sixty thousand.

During the middle ages, the Catholic religion reigned here with a power as absolute, as in Spain or Italy; and, at the present time, its influence is greater than in any other city north of the Mayne. The number of priests, monks, and nuns, before the French invasion, was twenty-five hundred; and although their conquerors dispelled much of the superstition of the countries they subdued, enough of it still remains even here, to excite the surprise of one acquainted with the investigating spirit of northern Germany. The churches are filled with relics of saints and martyrs, and skulls and bones enough appear, to remind one of Napoleon's guard of Mosqua or Waterloo. In the church of Saint Ursula are the skeletons, more or less perfectly preserved, of eleven thousand virgins, who refusing to renounce their belief in Christianity, suffered martyrdom. When I asked my guide if he believed it, he pointed to the bones as a conclusive proof of its truth. Leaving this catacomb, we went to the Jesuits church, in the tribune of which more skulls are grinning at you. Here are the crania of eighty saints, each of which is adorned with a crown of gold, while the lower part is enveloped in red satin, with a golden border. In the same edifice are the thigh

bones of twenty-four saints, the ends of which are covered with red satin, worked with gold.

Several of the churches here contain statues, arrayed in such costumes, as to excite laughter to a degree which is almost irresistible. In the church last mentioned, is a statue of the Virgin, clothed in a gown, which is tissued with silver. She holds a sceptre in her right hand, and wears a gilt crown on her head. With her left arm she supports the infant Saviour, who is dressed in a similar manner, with red morocco shoes. In another church which I visited, is a statue of Michael destroying Satan. The Archangel has a cloak bordered with gold, which falls back over his shoulders. It is fastened under his neck with a cross, or something like it, which might almost pass for the cross of Malta, or for that of the Legion of Honour. Under this he wears a jacket, which is so tight, that were you to see him out of the church, you would believe him to be a copy of one of the Tuileries or Boulevard dandies. The Devil is on his back under the conqueror, who is raising his sword to punish him for his rebellion; he has horns and feet, *a la mode d'Enfer*, for they are certainly unlike any thing on earth. His ears are large, and in shape similar to those of a satyr, while his legs are a perfect copy of the thigh bones of the saints in the Jesuit's church. He seems to be shuddering with fear, as the Archangel is about rewarding him for his iniquity, and in the agony of anticipated suffering, he twists his long tail about his legs with the flexibility of the anaconda. His face, a union of satyr, dragon, and monkey, is thrown into an expression unlike any thing on earth, in the sea, or in heaven. The pictures which Raphael and Guido have given of this controversy, and, above all, that drawn by Milton, impress the mind with admiration for the conqueror, while the group* just described, excites only the

* In Modena, in the vault of the tribune of the cathedral, there is a picture of heaven, painted several years since by Vincenzi, which is perhaps equally ludicrous. The Trinity is represented by an illuminated triangle, surrounded by a wreath of angels. The other angels are arrayed below their wings in blue, red, and green robes. Some of them are flying through the fields of ether, while others are sitting upon the clouds, uniting in a musical concert. They are playing on the violin, the harp, and the guitar, and blowing horns.

emotion of ridicule. I have seen nothing in Italy more laughable than this: nothing which more completely divested an Archangel of all that is bright and glorious in his appearance. Still such pictures produce not a little effect on the vulgar; it is the horns of the Devil which they dread, and to escape them, they will cheerfully count their beads, and give their groschen to the priests, to receive absolution.

The cathedral of this city, which was commenced in 1248, has never been finished. The design included two towers, each rising to the height of five hundred feet. One of them has been raised to an elevation of two hundred feet, while only the foundation of the other has been laid. It was begun with a magnificence surpassing any other Gothic edifice on the continent, and had it been completed, it would have been the Saint Peter's of Gothic architecture. Although more than two hundred and fifty years elapsed from its foundation to the time when they suspended their labours, it is not more than one-third finished. The light which then broke upon the world, united with the immense expense of this edifice, prevented its completion. When looking at its gigantic plan, one cannot avoid lamenting that it was not commenced a few centuries earlier, however much he may rejoice, that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a light illumined the north of Europe, infinitely more glorious than that which is so beautifully coloured by the painted windows of this magnificent edifice.

In the church of Saint Peter, in this city, the celebrated Rubens was baptised, and the house in which he was born is but a short distance from it. Some years after leaving his native city, he painted the crucifixion of the Apostle, to whose praise this edifice was erected. His head is downward, and with a part of his body, is supported by one of the executioners, while the other three are fastening him to the cross. His body is made to bend, which

Others are singing from music books, in form and size corresponding with those used by our own country choristers. Two young cherubs hold each of these books, being ready to turn over the leafs as they advance in their strains. In looking at this picture, you almost believe that you are listening to Mear, Lenox, or Old Hundred. In one of the small cathedrals of the Tyrol, I saw the Virgin dressed in a hoop petticoat, which projected so far, as to endanger her gown not a little when the candles were lighted.

attitude is executed with such a power, that you almost believe it to be a reality. His feet and one of his hands have already been fastened, while the other is about receiving the last spike. The distortion of his feet, the grasp of the left hand, and the muscular action of his arm, present the most living picture of agony; one that strikes you with horror. In his face is an expression of that firmness and fixedness of soul, so characteristic of this courageous Apostle. He seems to be striving to overcome his physical suffering with a resolution that can conquer anguish. This conflict between intense pain and holy devotion to the cause of his master, is painted with a power which is indescribable. You shudder on beholding his torments, and are struck with admiration at his steadfastness. While thus struggling with death in its most horrid form, his face is lighted up with joy, as if the glory of that world, to gain an inheritance into which he had been so long striving, was bursting upon his view. This expression is beautifully contrasted with the rage and thirst for blood which fills the faces of the executioners; the muscular resistance which his suffering produces, requires the most powerful exertions on their part to fasten him to the cross, so that every muscle is brought into action. The colouring of this remarkable picture is surpassed by none, except those of Titian and Corregio. Though already familiar with most of Ruben's paintings in Italy, and his celebrated pictures in the Louvre, never, until my arrival here, could I share in the enthusiasm which I had so often seen in artists, when examining the efforts of his genius. In design and execution, this picture is not surpassed by any similar works but those of Raphael, and by Titian's Assumption of the Virgin. The Elevation of the Cross, and the Descent from the Cross, in the cathedral of Antwerp, do not present as striking an exhibition of the power of Rubens' pencil, as the Crucifixion of Saint Peter.

LETTER III.

Cassel, June, 1825.

My desire of seeing Frankfort, and the beauty of the Rhine, induced me to return to Mayence. Between Cologne and that city there is but one bridge of boats, at Coblentz. There are, however, several moving bridges, resembling our steam ferry-boats in their construction, but much superior to them in one respect, that they are always in operation, and with no expense to the proprietor but the wages of the boatmen. A boat is anchored about half a mile above the ferry, in the centre of the stream; to this another is attached by a chain of twenty or thirty feet in length, and to this a third is united, and so on, until the last chain reaches the ferry-boat. The length of the chain connecting these is continually increasing. The first is anchored very firm; the others are floating. The force of the current acting on them and on the large one, is sufficient to carry it from one side to the other. Thus, without fuel or horses, they move from one bank to the other, with almost the same velocity as our team boats, and without any effort but moving the helm.

In less than three days, with three horses towing the *coche d'eau*, we ascended the Rhine to Mayence. In descending it, we had horses no further than Bingen, the current from thence to Bonn being sufficiently rapid to dispense with the use of them. At a small village, a short distance below Bingen, we stopped to dine. At another table, in the long dining room, I observed two Austrian corporals, belonging to the garrison of Mayence, drinking their wine with some of the Rhine nymphs, who eyed the soldiers with no ordinary interest. As they gave their successive toasts, they all rose, and, after the German custom, brought their glasses together over the centre of the table, each one ringing his glass against that of every other of the party, and repeating the toast while standing. As the captain announced the hour of departure, the females came down to the boat to accompany the soldiers. One of the latter,

who had been particularly attentive to a young girl of about eighteen, allowed the party to precede him, while he lingered behind with his fair companion. She was a bright, blooming lass, as plump as a partridge, and a fair candidate for the crown, when the peasant girls of her native village should choose their May-day queen. Her life and animation had been somewhat clouded, even while drinking their Hochheimer, by the approaching departure of her lover. With a pensive look and lingering step, she accompanied him to the *coche d'eau*, and as the word "all on board" was shouted by the captain, he threw his arms around her, and taking a long, long kiss, mounted the deck. The lasses on shore waved their hands, and repeated and re-repeated their *leben sie wohl*, which was returned by the Austrians with a louder and louder voice, as we stemmed the current. The lover remained on deck, and, with his eye fized on the receding village, stretched his neck to catch one more glimpse of his fair one. She soon appeared running on the shore, and waving her handkerchief, which he returned with more enthusiasm than one would have supposed possible for an Austrian to manifest. The postilion, as if envying him his fortune, put his horses on as brisk a trot as the current of the stream would allow. The girl also soon quickened her pace, resolving to catch another and another view of her admirer; and whenever the shrubbery which edged the river obscured the boat, she mounted the first hillock where she stood greeting him with her waving handkerchief. After running in this manner until she was nearly exhausted, she ascended a small eminence, and fixing her gaze on the soldier, whose tall person and white regimentals made him very conspicuous, even in the distance, she remained as fixed as a statue, until as it vanished around the promontory, she once more spread her handkerchief to the wind as her last *Ich liebe dich*. I was very much struck at this unreserved disclosure of her affection, and could not but feel, that if a little of the etiquette and reserve of females in the higher classes of society, were sacrificed to frankness, the number of old bachelors in every country would be greatly diminished.

Crossing the Rhine at Mayence, we soon entered the village of Hochheim, where the celebrated Hoch wine is made. Those who have once tasted this beverage, when mellowed by years, could not have looked upon the promising vintage which covered the fields

around me, without feeling somewhat of the enthusiasm for Father Rhine, which the Germans so universally manifest. The climate here is as cold as that of Pennsylvania, the Rhine being frozen over for some weeks every year. The vine would consequently grow in many parts of the United States, where the soil was adapted to it; and were it once introduced, it would in a great measure supersede the use of spirits. This wine is not much stronger than Bordeaux; and although at first you prefer those so fashionable in our country, after a short time the flavour of Madeira is even inferior to it.

An American or Englishman living on the continent, is not a little surprised to see even the lower class of society in countries abounding with wine, almost entirely free from our great national vice, intoxication. During a residence of nearly two years in France and Italy, I have not observed ten persons intoxicated, with the exception of foreigners in the seaports. During this time I have witnessed some thirty fêtes, where there were from twenty to several hundred thousand persons assembled. At the late fêtes in Paris, soon after the coronation of Charles X, there were on two of the festival days, as was reported, more than half a million of persons within the Champs Elysées, the gardens of the Tuileries, and on the quays. On one of these days, I mingled very much with the crowd, and to my surprise did not discover an individual intoxicated. At a single regimental review in the United States, you behold more persons thus degraded, than I have ever seen in Europe. Whence comes this mighty difference between us and those countries, where the lower classes of every city forms a *canaille*, sunk in other respects to a degree of degradation totally unknown in our towns? It certainly is not owing to the influence of religion; nor to the want of means, for a drunkard will spend his last farthing for his intoxicating draught, without any reference to the future. It can be owing to but one cause, and that is the great abundance of their wines. An individual long accustomed to wine, acquires a disrelish for spirits. I here refer exclusively to the light wines, for those fashionable in our country, are so blended with brandy, as to, in some cases, increase rather than diminish the relish for spirituous liquors. Most of the wines of the continent are not stronger than cider, and are much less disagreeable in their effects than beer.

The English and northern Germans drink beer, ale, and porter, and drunkenness is very frequent among them. The higher classes in the former country, drink port and Madeira, and not a small number of them, like many in the same station in life with us, fall victims to this scourge of humanity. The inhabitants of the southern countries of Europe, drink light wines, and intoxication is almost unknown. So rare is this, that one of the lower class of society in Paris or Florence would consider himself not a little disgraced, by such an exhibition of himself; and even one of the Neapolitan Lazzaroni would think it no honour to exhaust a couple of bottles of port or Madeira. Whence comes this? Among the higher classes, it results from the fact, that at their dinner parties the gentlemen always retire with the ladies, being too gallant to prefer the society of their bottles to that of their fair acquaintance. Drinking carousals have accordingly never been introduced into these countries. The lower classes, who can only procure the common wine of the neighbourhood, find their thirst quenched long before any unusual excitement is felt. After one has drank a quantum suff, every subsequent draught gives pain rather than pleasure. To become intoxicated therefore is a penance, rather than a source of gratification. The fever produced by spirituous liquors, creates an ever-increasing thirst, instead of allaying it; and the more one drinks, the more he is disposed to do it. The custom of smoking, which is so universal in Germany, and so common in our country, contributes not a little to the frequency of intoxication. The fever produced by half a dozen cigars, or pipes of tobacco, is as great, and the thirst much greater, than by a draught of brandy. Smoking in France and Italy is almost unknown. Could our hills be extensively covered with vineyards, how many thousands, may it not almost be said millions, of hearts would eventually cease to mourn over a father, brother, wife, or relative, rapidly reeling towards the grave! How many families now growing up in ignorance and vice would be rescued from ruin!

An extensive introduction of the vine is not merely desirable in a moral point of view; I know of no source of revenue to our nation, excepting cotton, which will compare with it. In the year 1812, during the continental war, while the French coast was continually blockaded, the exports of wine from France (vid. Hassel)

equalled 28,593,138 guldens, or about fourteen millions of dollars. They have since that period very much increased. The quantity consumed in the country by the inhabitants, and that manufactured into brandy, were nearly twice as much as that exported. We are already beginning to feel the effects of Brazilian and Egyptian rivalry in our cotton, and whenever the South American republics shall be established on a firm basis, we shall find them still more powerful competitors. Were the sunny sides of our hills like those of France, covered with vineyards, we should instead of sending many millions of dollars to Europe, the Mediterranean, and the isles of Africa, for foreign wines, receive in a short period a large amount from our exportations.

Beyond Hochheim there is but little to interest the traveller. The Mayne is visible on the right, gently winding through rich fields of grain and vineyards. At the distance of twelve or fourteen miles from Mayence, the towers and spires of Frankfort rise at a distance, telling you by their number and altitude, that you are approaching one of the large cities of Germany.

Frankfort is a city of great beauty, with many wide streets, often bounded by palaces. It is of moderate extent, but some of the streets contain houses worthy of being the residence of princes. Most of its palaces are white or nearly so, giving a light airiness of appearance, contrasting powerfully with the edifices of most of the towns of Europe, which time has covered with the rust of ages. It is only during the fairs that Frankfort exhibits the hum and bustle of commerce; still at all seasons, you easily realize in the noble buildings around you, what one of the Hanseatic towns may have been when in its glory. The banking operations, for not a small part of Germany, are transacted here, and no where unless in Paris or London, are there bankers of greater fortunes. At its fairs, particularly at that of Michaelis, which continues a month, the number of merchants you see moving in every direction amply atones for its comparative solitude at other seasons.

The walls which formerly surrounded Frankfort are entirely destroyed, the trenches having been filled up. In their stead is a beautiful garden forming a succession of rambles sufficiently varied, to become the great promenade of the citizens. This city holds the second rank among the Hanseatic towns, Hamburg alone being

superior to it in population. These two cities, with Bremen and Lubec, have one vote at the ordinary sessions of the German Diet; the whole number of voices being seventeen. In the *Plenarversammlung* or full assembly, when the votes are increased to sixty-nine, each of these towns has one.

At the Congress of Vienna, the jealousy of the German states would not permit either of the monarchs, whose territories approached these cities, to enrol them among the number of their towns. They were consequently declared "free cities" and a species of Democratical government established, the members of which are yearly chosen by the people. Frankfort contains according to Kirchner 60,000 inhabitants, and the neighbouring territory 13,400. The Lutherans form a majority, though several other sects have their places of worship. There are here from ten to twelve thousand Jews, some of whom possess great fortunes. The revenue of Frankfort is larger than either of the other free cities, amounting to 750,000 guldens, and the debt to three millions. The merchants of this town, like those of the Italian Republics, have exhibited a noble spirit in the promotion of literature, and the fine arts. The public and private galleries, and above all the city library, which contains one hundred thousand volumes, are visited by the stranger with a pleasure never felt, when viewing similar collections belonging to the ostentatious Monarchs of Europe.

Frankfort is politically distinguished, as being the residence of the German Diet. The proximity of the Rhine states to France, whose colossal power has so often crushed them, as well as the overwhelming force of Austria and Prussia, rendered it necessary for the smaller states to unite in mutual defence against the larger powers of Germany, as well as against Russia and France. The power of the last two countries was so great, that neither Prussia nor Austria felt willing to grapple with them single handed, and with pleasure sacrificed the hope of German conquest, to gain the aid of the fifteen millions of inhabitants belonging to the smaller states of this country. The avowed object of this Alliance, is to defend Germany from all attacks from foreign powers, and from all internal disorders. Some of the most important articles of the compact are the following.

1, *Der Deutsche Bund*, or the German Alliance, has avowed its object to be the preservation of their own freedom. In doing this, the thirty-nine states which compose it, are mutually pledged to support each other in every defensive war. In a war of conquest, or in one which is offensive, the other states are not required to lend any assistance to the aggressor.

2. Every one of the states is required not to give any provocation to the neighbouring powers. Should it however be given, it is the duty of the Alliance to demand redress of the offending state, and at the same time adopt such measures as shall as soon as possible, put a check to the consequences resulting from this violation of peace.

3. If one of the states is threatened by a foreign power, and the danger appears real, the Diet is required to adopt those measures which shall be necessary to protect the party threatened.

4. The German Alliance has the right of declaring war in full assembly, whenever two-thirds of the voices are in favour of it.

5. If the majority of the diet decide that there is no danger to be apprehended from the conduct of a foreign power, and some of states are still convinced of it, they have the right to take the necessary measures for resisting an invasion.

6. In case of war, each state is required to furnish its specified quota of troops, if they should be needed, and this may be increased *ad libitum*; but if so, the additional number must be supported by the funds of that state.

7. If one of these states, which has possessions, not represented at the diet, declares war on its own account, as an European power, the Alliance are not required to render to that state any assistance. Should, however, the other German states be in danger from such a contest, they must whenever a majority of the Diet shall think it necessary to assist that state, so far as is necessary, to protect the independence of the Alliance.

8. After the Alliance has once declared war, no state, whether it has possessions out of Germany or not, can individually make peace or agree to a cessation of hostilities.

9. Peace can be concluded in a full assembly only.

The Alliance was formed not merely to secure themselves from foreign attack, but also from all internal discord. The great en-

thusiasm displayed by the German youth in the war of freedom, excited not a little alarm in the minds of most of the monarchs of Germany. The love of liberty which they had manifested, as well as the belief that the Revolutionary spirit of France was prevalent among the students, induced them to adopt rigorous measures, to prevent any infringements upon the rights of legitimacy. The German Alliance accordingly adopted a number of resolutions, of which the following is the most important.

Whenever the inhabitants of any one of the states belonging to the Alliance, shall resist the Government, and disturb public tranquillity, and this resistance continues to increase, if the government of such state not being able to put it down, shall apply to the Alliance; it shall be the duty of that body as soon as possible to render the aid necessary to re-establish order.

The object of this article of their compact is, to stifle in the outset every effort to obtain liberty, and to rivet the fetters of tyranny The Germans in addition to the Holy Alliance, have to oppose the Alliance of Germany, and to conquer both of them too, before they can call themselves free. That they might do this were they once united, and could they feel the same enthusiasm for Germany, that the French thirty years since felt for the glory of France, no one can doubt. That they ever will be animated by such a spirit, no one can believe, so long as they are subjected to so many different governments.

The German Alliance is represented by seventeen members, sent by the thirty-four States and the four free cities, the largest of which is Austria, and the smallest Liechtenstein,* which contains less than a seventeenth hundred part of the German population of the former. Every country in Europe where the German language is vernacular, is here represented, excepting Courland and Livland. Of these States, Austria and Prussia are much the most important, possessing more than one half of the territory

* This principality is so small, that I fear most of my readers will search for it in vain, on the maps of Europe, published in the United States. It lies between Austria, Tyrol, and Switzerland, about thirty miles south of the Lako of Constance; and contains two and a half German square miles, and five thousand five hundred and forty-six inhabitants. It is smaller than even the "glorious republic of San Marino."

and population of Germany. The following table, taken from Hassel, will give an idea of the extent and population of the different countries which are represented at the German Alliance. The miles are German, which are fifteen to a degree. One German square mile is nearly twenty-one and a half English square miles.

		Sq. miles.	Year.	Population.
1.	Austria, on account of the Archduchy of Austria, the Duchies of Salzburg, Steyermark, Kärnten, Krain, Auschwitz, & Silesia, the territories of Tyrol, Trent, Brixen, Friaul, Trieste, Bohemia, and Mähren . .	3,658,$^{75}_{100}$	1818	9,635,834
2.	Prussia, on account of the provinces of Brandenburg, Pommern, Saxony, Silesia, Westphalia, Kleveberg, and Lower Rhine	3,307,36	1819	9,025,576
3.	Bavaria	1,497,24	1818	3,528,597
4.	Saxony	335,88	1818	1,386,055
5.	Hanover	690,21	1818	1,325,000
6.	Würtemberg	362,15	1818	1,397,564
7.	Baden	274,50	1818	1,020,696
8.	Hesse Cassel	206,89	1820	573,455
9.	Hesse Darmstadt	169,50	1816	633,026
10.	Holstein	181,60	1818	394,560
11.	Luxembourg	110,	1816	255,628
12.	Saxe Weimar	66,22	1820	201,180
13.	Saxe Gotha	54,75	1819	187,377
14.	Saxe Meiningen	18,22	1808	56,269
15.	Saxe Hildburghausen . . .	10,97	1815	29,706
16.	Saxe Koburg	28,91	1817	80,012
17.	Brunswick	70,37	Est.	230,000
18.	Mecklenburg Schwerin . . .	223,88	1820	388,094
19.	Mecklenburg Strelitz . . .	35,95	1819	72,901
20.	Oldenburg	123,70	1819	225,389
21.	Nassau	90,40	1817	301,907
22.	Anhalt Dessau	17,	1817	52,947
23.	Anhalt Bernberg	16,	1817	37,046
24.	Anhalt Köthen	15,	1817	32,454
25.	Schwarzburg Sondershausen . .	16,25	1817	45,120
26.	Schwarzburg Rudolstadt . .	19,10	1817	53,940
27.	Hohenzollern Hechingen . .	5,	1817	14,500
28.	Hohenzollern Sigmaringen . .	20,05	1817	37,032

		Sq. miles.	Year.	Population.
29.	Liechtenstein	5,50	1817	5,546
30.	Reuss älterer Linie . . .	7,05	1817	22,255
31.	Reuss jüngerer Linie . . .	21,50	1817	52,205
32.	Lippe Detmold	20,62	1817	69,062
33.	Lippe Schauenburg . . .	10,	Est.	24,000
34.	Waldeck	21,86	1817	51,877
35.	Hesse Homburg	6,50	1819	20,610
36.	Free State of Frankfort . . .	4,33	1817	47,850
37.	Free State of Lübeck . . .	5,50	1817	40,650
38.	Free State of Bremen . . .	3,50	1817	38,500
39.	Free State of Hamburg . . .	6,32	1817	129,739
	Total . .	11,735,77	-	31,724,169

Besides the German monarchs, the kings of England, Denmark, and the Netherlands, are represented here, for their provinces of Hanover, Holstein, and Luxembourg.

The Diet has two modes of assembling, in one of which, viz. *der engere Rath*, there are but seventeen voices. In this assembly, Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse Cassel, Hesse Darmstadt, Denmark, and the Netherlands, have each one vote. The remaining six votes are divided between the other powers.

In the *Plenarversammlung*, or full assembly, these seventeen voices are expanded to seventy. In this, Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and Würtemberg, have each four votes; Baden, Hesse Cassel, Hesse Darmstadt, Holstein, and Luxembourg, have each three. Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Schwerin, and Nassau, have each two votes; while the remaining states have one voice each.

In both of these assemblies Austria presides, though in other respects neither she nor Prussia have any more nominal power, than several of the smaller kingdoms. Their real power is much greater. The Germans of the smaller Duchies and Electorates, complain not a little on account of the overwhelming influence of these two states in the Diet; affirming that they carry every measure which they desire.

The influence of this Alliance in preserving the peace of Europe is apparently great, but in reality very small. Should France attack Prussia, for example, Baden would be very unwilling to expose herself to the horrors of war, on account of a power, whose rapid increase within a few years, has made her very formidable to the other German States. She would much prefer seeing Prussia lose the Rhine provinces, than run the risk of becoming a province of France. Nassau, Hesse Darmstadt, and probably Würtemberg, would reason in the same manner. It is true that they have agreed to defend each other, but political compacts are based upon interest; and there is no country in Europe, with the exception of England, where any other motive ever exerted the least influence on the cabinet, If that power does not make morality her invariable rule, she usually acts under the influence of honourable feeling* in her treatment of other nations, notwithstanding she has suffered a captive emperor to be tormented by his governors. The cabinets on the continent have never allowed honourable feeling to have any weight. The reason is evident. The English cabinet cannot retain their place, for any length of time, if they act in opposition to the nation. In the despotic governments of the continent *Vox Regis* is, at least in the eyes of the people, *Vox Dei.* Honour never did, and never will, approach the throne of a despotic king; and every appearance of it has been extorted by fear, and not by a desire of justice and a feeling of generosity.

The army of the German Alliance amounts to 301,637 men. You must not understand that they have this army actually organised. As yet they have not a soldier, and will not have, unless war should be declared. The powers, however, which compose it, have nearly double this number of regular troops, and as soon as a war breaks out, in which Germany must act as a country,

* As a proof of the liberal policy of the English government, I need only refer to the recent payment for slaves, stolen from the Southern States during the last war. Had the troops of any other power taken them, no recompense would ever have been made, unless a compulsory one. The present state of our negociations respecting the French, Neapolitan, and Danish spoliations, is a proof of this.

each of the thirty-nine states is obliged to send its quota of troops. Austria for example sends 94,822 men, Prussia 79,254, Bavaria 36,000, &c. The quota for each state is exactly in proportion to its population, in 1815, when the Alliance was formed: viz. one soldier for every hundred inhabitants. Could such an army, well organised, be animated with enthusiasm, they might laugh at the attacks of France. Coming, however, as they would, from thirty-nine countries, and most of them feeling no interest in the affairs of the frontier states, they would probably yield before half their force. One power would withdraw its contingent, and then another, until Austria or Prussia would be compelled, either united or single handed, to carry on the contest.

This Alliance, although it is not regarded by the Germans as very important in the affairs of Europe, still has sufficient influence to induce the three great powers, France, Russia, and Great Britain, to send ambassadors to Frankfort. Its influence on that city is in a pecuniary view very auspicious. In few towns in Germany is there more gaiety, and rarely does the stranger see more brilliant assemblies than here. The twenty or thirty ambassadors, their secretaries, and attachès, and the numerous strangers who resort here, give to its society a character superior to that of most commercial cities of its size. They frequent without hesitation the *soirées* of the rich bankers and merchants, and marriages between the young diplomatists and the daughters of these moneyed aristocrats are not very unfrequent. The proximity of Frankfort to France, together with the long dominion of the French, has made the language of Paris familiar to every intelligent citizen. Although all public documents, as well as the debates of the Diet, are written and held in German, the French is more frequently the language of society. The German countenance is however very prominent, and in every promenade, you discover in the dress and walk of the ladies, that you have left Paris far behind you.

To visit Frankfort, and not see the Ariadne of Dannecker, would be regarded by every inhabitant of this city as unpardonable. My German acquaintance here entreated me on no account to fail of seeing this "*chef d'œuvre* of German art, this finest effort of the modern chisel." My valet would give me no rest until he had conducted me to the garden of Mr. Bethman, where, he informed

me, I should see the first statue of the world. As there was no alternative, I went; and, on entering the building which contained it, the Cicerone held forth in a strain of comparatives and superlatives, worthy of an oriental who had seen the castle of Aladdin, or Mahomet's Paradise. Had the artist passed his life among German peasant girls, he could not have chosen a much more disagreeable altitude; and had he searched the earth to its centre, he could not have found many worse blocks of marble. The execution of the figure displays talent, but the animal on which she sits, never had any thing similar to it in the forest. Whether it was designed for a leopard or lion, I could not tell, until my Cicerone informed me, that it was *un léopard superbe et magnifique.*

Though Frankfort is nominally a free city, still neither this, nor any one of the other three Republics of Germany, has any liberty but the name, whenever their views are contrary to those of Austria and Prussia. The fate of Massenbach is an illustration of this remark. This gentleman was the Quarter-Master-General of the Prussian army, during many years; and from his situation, as well as from enjoying the intimacy of the King, he became acquainted with very many of the secrets of the Prussian Government. In 1817, when residing at Frankfort, he prepared a work on Prussia, in which he availed himself of all the means which his previous situation had afforded him, to make it interesting to the world. He offered it to one of the London booksellers for sale, and having received the promise of a very handsome sum for the copyright, he then wrote to the Prussian government, telling them he would not publish it, provided they would bid higher. Instead of making an offer, they applied to the government of Frankfort to give him up. As this proposal was not replied to, a detachment of Prussian gendarmes was immediately sent to Frankfort, and the house where Massenbach was residing was surrounded. He was immediately seized, and carried to Berlin, where he was tried in secret, and condemned to death. The King changed the sentence to perpetual confinement.* Had Frankfort thus violated

* I relate the story as it was told me at different times, by several gentlemen in Berlin. Although the seizure was secret, the trial secret, and he is now a

the Prussian territory, that power would probably have required immediate satisfaction, but as Prussia was two hundred times more powerful, nothing remained but silence and submission.

On a lovely afternoon, I left Frankfort for this city, in company with between twenty and thirty Germans, who were packed into the diligence and several extra carriages, which followed in its wake. As no one could speak French or English in the vehicle in which I rode, nothing was left for me, but to talk with my hands. By means of this pantomime, and a few German words picked up on the Rhine, I was enabled to carry on for some hours a species of dislocated conversation, my mistakes affording not a little amusement to my companions. In Italy, the language of gesture is carried to a greater degree of excellence than in any other country of Europe.* I have often seen on the stage in that country, pantomimic comedies, which were perfectly intelligible; and in witnessing tragedies of this character, my feelings have been often much affected, when beholding the pictures of distress, presented by eloquent pantomimic actors. Their language is so full of vowels, as to render accentuation more necessary than in any other of Europe, while the ardour of the Italian character, united with the similarity of sound in their words, renders a continued action necessary to give the greatest force to their language. From

secret prisoner at Glatz, having been removed in 1820 from the fortress of Kustrin, I will not say that he did not deserve punishment. The seizure and trial, however, excited great indignation in Germany, which has not subsided at the present time.

* I have seen a young lady in Florence, play parts of tragedies which she had seen on the stage, where every gesture and expression were so marked, and so powerful, as to convey striking exhibitions of joy and sorrow. In one instance she performed a comic pantomime,' where she alternately represented the characters of two shepherds and two shepherdesses who were affianced. The shepherds were both jealous of the maidens to whom they were promised, and at the same time each one was in love with the shepherdess of his companion. The numerous opportunities which were presented to them to explain their affection, the frequent discoveries to which these led, the embarrassment of the one, the anger of the other, the ingenuity of the maidens in concealing their feelings when thus detected, as well as the artful manner in which they pacified their enraged lovers, were so eloquent, that language would have added little to the effect produced.

this constant habit of gesticulation, they have formed one of signs, almost as perfect as that of deaf and dumb, by means of which they will carry on a conversation for hours. Could such a language become universal, from how much inconvenience would a traveller be exempted while traversing the countries of Europe, from how many tricks and impositions would he escape!

I know of no solitude, excepting the pathless forests of the Western States, that is more powerful on the heart, than that felt by an American, ignorant of the languages of the continent, on his first arrival in a European metropolis. Every house, street, face, the costume of the inhabitants, the geography of the city, in one word, every thing is unlike any thing he has seen or heard before. He sallies forth, and no eyes but those of the coachman, shoeblack, or beggar, or some one of the legal or illegal class of pickpockets, regard him. He sees endless currents of bodies moving in a thousand different eddies, hears the rattling of a hundred wheels, mingling with the confused sounds of an unknown language, coming from criers of every age, costume, and deformity. He rambles without any definite object, turns corner after corner without knowing why, loses his way, and then finds that he is too ignorant of the language to ask for it. If he is fortunate enough to recollect the name of his hotel, he stops and looks for a long time at the streams of moving bodies that are rapidly passing by him, to select some one of whom to inquire his way. Having discovered an individual moving less rapidly than most of those in view, he puts on a bold face, and touching his hat as an apology for the interruption, he repeats the name of his hotel. He now finds that he has fallen into a new dilemma, for his pronunciation is so different from that of the native, that the latter does not understand the drift of his inquiry. He makes a reply, but the former is equally in the dark; for he mistakes the "what did you say," "I do not understand you, Sir," of the former, for a direction. Having met with such indifferent success, he concludes to thank him, and again touching his hat, passes on, with the hope of soon meeting some one, to whom his vernacular is familiar. Keeping his eyes fixed on the moving crowd, he at last selects one who has the look of a student, and puts the same question in his own language. The stranger not understanding him, addresses him with *parlez vous Français;* the

traveller shakes his head: *Sprechen Sie Deutsch;* another shake of the head: *Parla lei Italiano;* the head again moves horizontially. He then asks him what language he does speak; whether he is a Pole, Russian, Spaniard, or Englishman. The last word brings forth a reply; "I speak English." With a bow he answers *Je not puis pas speak la langue Anglaise*, and he proceeds on his course. Resolved to make one more effort, he stops a third time, tries again to repeat the name of his hotel, or commences a language of signs, in which he is equally unsuccessful. Then luckily recollecting that he has a pencil in his pocket, he writes down the name of the hotel, as he thinks it is spelt. Here adapting the orthography to that of his own language, the stranger is equally in the dark. Eventually guessing out his dilemma, he repeats the names of different hotels, until he mentions the one he has so long been searching for. An affirmative nod of the traveller informs him that that is the object of his inquiry. He accordingly tells him by signs and words, to turn down one street, up another, cross a third, and then take the first left hand. Should he not mistake the word left for right, he eventually arrives at the place of his destination; wondering how he could ever have thought of travelling in a foreign country, without having first learned the language, and lamenting *ab imo pectore*, that the idea of the erection of the tower of Babel, ever entered the mind of man.

Giessen, through which we passed in the night, has a small university, containing nearly four hundred students, and thirty-nine professors and lecturers. This is the only one in Hesse Darmstadt. Its library is one of the smallest in Germany, containing but twenty thousand volumes. Though this institution is inferior in this respect to most others, the libraries of this little state are, in proportion to its population, surpassed by few in the small duchies and electorates of Germany. That of Mayence contains ninety thousand, and that of Darmstadt eighty-five thousand volumes. Leaving Giessen a few miles behind us, we entered the territory of Hesse Cassel, and at sunrise arrived at Marbourg, the seat of the only university of this electorate. This institution, like that of Giessen, has never risen to great distinction. As there are but three hundred students, I know not how its eight and thirty pro-

fessors and lecturers are enabled to gain an adequate support. Its library is small, containing but fifty-five thousand volumes, as the electors of this state have never been distinguished for their love of literature.

Cassel is situated on the Fulda, which is navigable some distance above the town. The old town is one of the ugliest in Europe, while the new is one of the most beautiful. Its street, called *Königstrasse*, would be admired in most of the capitals of Europe for its width, its neatness, and for the beauty of the houses which adorn it.

Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, and Potsdam, near Berlin, are the Caserta and Versailles of the north of Germany. The former with its grounds is a splendid summer residence for any prince, surpassing those of all the petty monarchs of Europe. The palace, at the distance of four miles from the capital, rests on the side of a hill, or rather mountain, the summit of which is crowned by a lofty edifice, on which a colossal statue of Neptune is standing. The grounds, which are very extensive, abound with objects which recal distant ages and countries to your recollection. Now you enter the temple of Apollo or of Mercury, or stop at Socrates' hermitage or Plato's hall; again a feudal castle in perfect preservation (for it is not yet half a century old) breaks upon your view. Here an Egyptian pyramid, there a Chinese village or saloon, remind you of any thing but Germany, while at the next turn a lofty aqueduct, whose shattered arches are hanging over an abyss, makes you for a moment feel that you are approaching the Campagna. The Devil's bridge, spanning a profound ravine, remind you of your Alpine rambles; while the Giant's castle, crowning a lofty eminence, recals Orillo to your recollection, and you almost listen to hear the horn of Astolfo. Waterfalls, cascades, fountains, lakes, and basins, are every where scattered amid these mementos of remote countries and distant ages; enlivening the solitude with the brilliancy of their reflected light, and with their animating roar.

The waterworks here are superior to any in Germany, and in some respects surpass those of Versailles. The great jet forms a column of fourteen inches in diameter, two hundred feet in height, and sixty feet higher than any other in Europe. The great cascade which bursts out of the Giant's castle, descends an inclined plain

of nine hundred feet, and falls into a basin of corresponding magnitude. The cascade of Caserta, which has been the wonder of travellers for fifty years, has not more than two-thirds of this altitude.

Cassel contains twenty-one thousand inhabitants, its population having diminished within a few years. While it was the capital of Westphalia, there were eight or ten thousand more than at present, the additional number having been supported by the profusion of Jerome's court. Its present elector possesses one of the largest fortunes in Europe, much of which he expends on his soldiers. The contingent of troops, for the German alliance, is less than six thousand men, while his army amounts to ten thousand, nearly half of his troops being maintained from his private fortune. Wilhelm II. is one of the most unpopular princes in Germany, and if we may believe the Germans, cares nothing for the happiness of his subjects. He has, however, by presents and promotions, made himself very popular with his soldiers, and on their affection he rests his hopes. His marriage with the sister of the king of Prussia has been a very unfortunate one, the countess of Reichenbach having supplanted her in his affections. This is so much *à la mode royale*, that even the Germans seem to feel as if it were a matter of course for a monarch to have his *chere amie*, and on her to shower his smiles. The courtiers imitate the sovereign, and the citizens the courtiers; until, in many of the capitals of Europe, fidelity sounds to most ears like the age of chivalry, the golden age, &c. which exist only in the regions of romance.

It was from Cassel that the Hessian troops marched to embark from Bremen for America, in the war which gave us independence. Frederic II. then Landgrave of Hesse, was enabled to keep a brilliant court, to fill his coffers, and squander fortunes upon his mistresses, by robbing the widow and orphan of their son and brother, and selling them to a foreign power to be marched to the slaughter. While looking at the troops, with their long mustachioes, as they performed their evolutions, I could see hundreds who corresponded with the pictures my imagination drew of a Hessian, when listening, in my boyhood, to the narratives of those who had met them in the field.

Hesse is one of the most protestant countries on the continent.

In a population of nearly six hundred thousand, there are but ninety thousand Catholics. Of the former, three hundred and thirty-three thousand belong to the reformed church, a greater proportion than in any other German state, and about thirty thousand more than in Prussia, which contains eighteen times its population. Hassel estimates the income at three million nine hundred thousand guldens, and the national debt at three million and a half. This debt, which does not exceed one million seven hundred thousand of our dollars, is one of the smallest in Germany. Saxe Meiningen, with a population of 54,000 has a debt nearly one-half larger; and Lübeck with forty thousand people, has one almost as large. The wealth which Frederick II. acquired in our revolutionary struggle, much of which his descendants have inherited, will perhaps account for the comparative smallness of this debt.

The late elector promised his people a constitution, but he died in 1821, without giving it to them. As the promises of fathers are not usually considered as very obligatory upon the children, there is but little reason to believe that they will receive it, unless they put their hands upon their swords, and wrest it from those who govern.

LETTER IV.

GÖTTINGEN, SEPT. 1825.

Göttingen lies in a fertile plain, bounded by hills of considerable altitude, through the openings of which the Harz mountains, so renowned in superstitious legend, swell in the blue distance and meet the heavens. The city is surrounded by a wall twenty feet in height, and forty in breadth. Two rows of trees have been planted on it, which meeting with their branches, make it the favourite ramble of the students. The city is two and a half miles in circumference, and contains ten thousand inhabitants. Like most of the towns in Germany, it is built very compactly, the houses being of two and three stories. The professors with their families, the students and the *Philisters*, or those who live on the money which the students circulate, form the great majority of the inhabitants. A few of the nobility and the judges of the courts of this district make up the remainder. In passing through Göttingen, an American could discover nothing to remind him of a university, unless the great number of young men whom he meets, with their portfolios under their arms, should excite his curiosity. There are but two academical buildings attached to it, the library and the lying-in-hospital. The resources of the institution, instead of being expended on buildings, are appropriated to the increase of cabinets, museums, and the library.

The style of living here corresponds with that of other German universities. All who can afford it have at least two rooms, as it is considered very much against *la mode* for a student to receive his visiters in his bed room, as is done in Paris; and nothing but great poverty would reconcile two students to living together, unless they had a suite of rooms. Two good rooms, well furnished, cost twelve Frederick d'ors, or sixty-eight Prussian dollars* annually. Each student breakfasts in his room, the family in whose house he

* The Prussian dollar is about seventy-five cents.

resides providing him with what he orders, and charging a very small commission for their trouble. A French breakfast, that is, one without a fork, costs about a dime; one with a fork, from one and a half to two dimes. The students dine at restaurateurs, at *table d'hôtes*, or in their rooms, without wine, at from four to eight Spanish dollars per month. Wine costs from one fourth of a dollar to a dollar per bottle. Boarding-houses, in our sense of the word, are unknown here. From these items, you will be enabled to form some idea of the expense of living at a German university in a small town.

All foreigners, I mean all who are not Germans, on entering this university, need only state their wish to the Pro Rector, and they are received without hesitation. It is, however, necessary for the natives to bring with them a certificate, from the gymnasium where they have studied, that they have passed a certain number of years at one or more of these institutions, and after a thorough examination have been found qualified to enter a university. If such a certificate is not presented, a German must be examined by some one of the professors, before he can be received. The reason of this is, that most offices under government are given to men of education; and a mere residence of two or three years at the university, without the previous instruction of a gymnasium, is not considered sufficient to qualify an individual for such places. Every student, within twenty-four hours after his arrival in town, must present himself to one of the secretaries of the university, informing him that he wishes to join it. He then receives a paper to be signed by him, the principal articles of which are—that he will obey the laws, that he will not fight a duel, and that he will not belong to any secret society, particularly to five or six political clubs, which a few years since were in existence here. Although these societies have been suppressed by the strong arm of power, the government of Hanover are very fearful that thay may be revived in secret; and not contented with abolishing them, make you promise that you never will belong to them. After subscribing my name, and paying an entrance fee of a Frederick d'or, the secretary presented a box to me, to contribute something for the support of the poor of Göttingen, observing that it was a universal custom. This ceremony being ended, I called on the Pro Rector, who once more asked me if I would promise to obey the laws; to which I assented.

He then gave me his hand, which is a part of the ceremony of Admission, and shaking mine, told me, that I was a member of the university.

This city presents a singular appearance to the eyes of a stranger. Its streets are teeming with young men, who exhibit a striking contrast to those of the towns of France and Italy. The students of the university of Paris are the most negligent in their costume of any Frenchmen in the kingdom; and it is not only apparently, but literally true, that they avail themselves of their residence in the *pays latin*,* to wear out their old clothes; dressing in a manner so different from their neighbours on the other side of the Seine, that nothing but their language would lead you to believe that they belonged to a country where personal appearance was esteemed almost a virtue. Those of the Italian universities which I have visited, particularly Pisa and Bologna, exhibit the same negligence in their dress, when contrasted with the citizens. In other respects the students partake of the same feelings as their parents, and are in the fullest sense of the word Frenchmen and Italians. The German students, however, are not Germans. They feel, as soon as they have entered on their career, as if all those restraints were removed by which they were curbed while in the gymnasia; and they enter on their wild stormy course of life, resolving to submit to no law except such as the *Landsmannschaften*, or clans of the university impose upon them, and those which are enforced by the strong arm of power.

The students show, very extensively, a disregard to all fashion, dressing in any manner that pleases their taste, but usually selecting one which is far removed from the beau ideal as possible. Some assume the character of university dandies, wearing coats with very long skirts, and pantaloons which remind you of two meal bags, or a Turk's trowsers lengthened. All who can raise a pair of mustachioes cover their upper lip with this ornament, endeavouring to appear as fierce as possible, that they may in this manner look down all opposition. To their boots they attach spurs of enormous dimensions, which they wear on all occasions, unless when dancing; and with their iron heels and jarring spurs, they clatter along the

* The French have given this name to that part of Paris which is near the royal university.

pavement like so many horses. A dandy student thus accoutred is not fully equipped, until one or more rings as large as watch seals adorn his fingers. The ruffle of his dickey (for many of them have no shirts) extends to a most unreasonable length, and this filling with the wind, and with a pipe four or five feet in length, he struts through the streets with the air of a Turk.

A few years since, soon after the war of Freedom, as they call that of 1813 and 1814, they adopted very generally the old German costume, such as they supposed it to have been when their ancestors, under Hermann, drove the Romans back to the Alps. This continued in vogue for many years, but is gradually growing into desuetude. It still exists, however, a few of the students adhering to the old national fashion, as if it were the strongest proof they could give of their patriotism. The prominent features of this costume are hair as long as nature will permit it to grow, until it hangs over their ears and shoulders like a mop, which they never allow the shears to approach; as if, like the son of Manoah, their strength lay in their locks; a coat, which neither Stutz nor Watson could describe; a bare neck, which has been exposed so long to the winter's wind and the summer's sun, as to present the most striking exhibition of tough rigidity; a shirt or chemisette collar, turned back over the almost collarless coat; and mustachios of several inches in length, which point at you with a most formidable curl, as if setting you at defiance. Thus equipped, a patriotic German student looks down with supreme contempt on all he meets, not even excepting his less patriotic brethren; and though not very fond of a row, he is willing to fight any one who does not give him his side of the pavement, or who looks at him with any expression but that of respect.

Until my arrival here, I had always supposed that smoking was peculiarly the element of a Dutchman. This, however, the German student would be very unwilling to admit. If the length and number of the pipes in their possession, if a continued puffing from morn till eve, from eve till midnight, can entitle them to pre-eminence, they certainly merit it. A Dutchman smokes when travelling, and when resting from his labour; a student of this country usually puffs not only at those times, but while studying, reading, or writing; in fact, most of the time, when he is not attending his lec-

tures or at his meals. It becomes a part of his existence, and were tobacco denied him, life would lose many of its charms. As they are not allowed to smoke in the streets, you usually meet them with their pipes in their hands, that they may avail themselves of the first opportunity of lighting them, as soon as they have stepped outside of the walls. The moment they enter the room of a friend, the pipe enkindling apparatus, consisting of a large bag, holding from a fourth to half a pound of tobacco, with flint, steel, and tinder, is opened; and with a dexterity quite unaccountable to a foreigner, they not only kindle their tobacco, but send out volumes of smoke more like a steam-boat than an ordinary smoker. Their pipes are made of *meershaum*, of buckshorn, and of porcelain, and are often of enormous dimensions. The latter are beautifully ornamented with landscapes, with pictures of the ruins of Germany, with copies of celebrated paintings, or with miniatures of warriors, statesmen, poets, and professors. They are not unfrequently executed with great beauty, and the colours being burned in, remain indelible. Each pipe has a flexible tube attached to it, from one to six feet in length, which curves with almost as much grace as the smoke which it emits. They are ornamented with a gold or silver cord, and with two tassels of the same material beautifully braided; and thus adorned, cost from one to forty dollars. On entering one of their rooms, the first thing that is offered you is one of the half dozen or dozen pipes which are suspended from the wall, and the only way to avoid inhaling this cloud of smoke, is to breathe your own.

Very many of the secret clubs which formerly existed here have been abolished, though some of them have, it is said, re-appeared under different names. They were viewed by the government as politically dangerous, and it resorted on that accouut to the severest measures to eradicate them. Clubs still exist, which meet in secret, to which they give the name of *Landsmannschaften*, which correspond in some degree with the clans of Scotland. The literal meaning of this word is *Countrymanships*, or sometimes, *Districtmanships*, for when the number of students from any one country is great, they divide the Landsmannschaft into two. For example, there are here, the Westphalian Landsmannschaft, No. 1 and No. 2; the Bremen do. from the city, and from the country around it. The Hanoverians, if I mistake not, are also divided

into several. Most of the states of Germany have one or more Landsmannschaften in this university, the members keeping together with as perfect a clannish feeling, as ever existed in the Highlands. They are distinguished by the colour of their caps, for very few of them wear hats. To give you an idea of their appearance, I will describe several of them.

1. The Courlanders, cap green, band blue, edge white.
2. Prussians, do. white, do. black, do. black.
3. Lüneburgers, do. blue, red border, do. white.
4. Westphalians, No. 1, do. green, band black velvet, edge white.
5. Westphalians, No. 2, do. black, band white and green.
6. Hanoverians, cap red, band black, with a golden edge.
7. Swiss, cap red, edge white, with a cross on the front, &c. &c.

Of these Landsmannschaften there are more than twenty, among which you find several, consisting principally of those who have a desire to keep alive the old costume of their country. They have assumed names indicative of their feelings, or at least of their barbarous appearance. Among these the Teutoners and the Vandalians are the most conspicuous. Each Landsmannschaft has its president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and other officers, who direct the ordinary concerns of the body. Every student, on arriving here, must unite with the Landsmannschaft of his country or district, as by not doing it he will be exposed to contempt, though not to ill treatment, as formerly. He will however be considered, as destitute of that patriotism, which every young student regards as essential to a genuine *bursch*, and amid neglect and silent contempt, he will find himself very unpleasantly situated. Some few cases have occurred, where students have refused to unite themselves to these societies, and have not only escaped molestation, but have passed one or more years here without being insulted. These cases however are rare.

Each student, on joining his Landsmannschaft, as well as at the commencement of each Semestre, or term, pays into the treasury of his clan a Frederick d'or. The money thus received is applied to defraying the expenses of the society. Most of it, however, is consumed in purchasing duelling weapons and dresses. A species of armoury is attached to each of these Landsmannschaften, where

are collected all the necessary implements for combat, which are adapted to the different stature of the students. From this arsenal they select their weapons. The number of duels fought is often so great, that they are compelled to impose a second tax before the end of the term, to provide themselves with new armour and dresses. A complete dress, sword, &c. cost from twenty to thirty dollars.

Duelling is more prevalent in the universities of Germany than in any other place on the earth. To have passed two or three years at one of these institutions, and not to have fought as many duels, is a rare example of moderation; and so far from being regarded as an honour, is considered by the students as a proof of a want of spirit. They do not wait for a genuine provocation, one that would give velocity to their blood, but avail themselves of every opportunity to display their courage. Every university has its code of laws relating to the intercourse of the students with one another. Some of these have been passed in general council, while others by tacit consent, have acquired a similar authority. These are regarded by the *Burshen* as inviolable, and whenever they come in collision with the laws of the university, they become in their eyes null and void. From a violation of these laws, not a few of the duels proceed. There is a law here, established by custom, that two students in passing each other, shall always turn to the left. As this city has side-walks, they place a double value on their right to the outside of the pavement. Inadvertence or design, almost every day, brings two or more of them opposite each other. When thus almost in contact, the idea of turning is rejected as cowardly, and they advance until they meet. As it is an invariable law in the material world, that when two bodies meet each other, the smaller must yield to the larger, the velocities being the same, the smaller student soon finds himself in the gutter. Full of ire at the dirty ideas his situation awakens, which is probably increased by the feeling all little fellows have, when compelled to contrast themselves with large bodies, he turns to his opponent and says, "*Sie sind ein dummer Junge*," in other words, "you are a stupid fellow," or a blockhead. His antagonist immediately inquires of him where he resides, and having ascertained, says to him, "you are challenged." Accordingly,

having chosen his second, this friend calls upon the offending student, informing him that he is to officiate as second to his own friend; requesting him at the same time to choose one for himself. This he does, and the two seconds fix upon the time and place, and the duel takes place. But the *Bursch* is not merely alive to his own honour, he is still more so to that of his Landsmannchaft. If any individual speaks disrespectfully of one of these clans, he is immediately called a *dummer Junge* by the person belonging to it who hears him. To be called a blockhead, is an insult which nothing less than a duel can atone for. If thus insulted, it is indispensably necessary to challenge the offender immediately, who is equally under the necessity of accepting it. Should either of them fail of acting like a genuine *Bursch*, his character would be considered infamous by his brethren, and he would be treated accordingly. The promise which he made on entering the university is of no consequence; as all the laws to which he has subscribed, disappear before this all-powerful code of honour. These and many similar causes of offence, arising from accident or design, give rise to frequent duels, until the report of several in a day, ceased in a few weeks after my arrival to excite surprise.

Whenever a student is challenged, he has not the privilege of choosing his own weapons. If he is a German, he must fight according to the established mode of the university; if not, he is allowed to claim the mode of fighting adopted in his native country. His opponent, however, may refuse to fight, unless he adopts the weapons of the university, and then the affair ends in words, without any effusion of blood. The English and Americans who have been here, have in a few instances been challenged, but claiming the right to use the pistol, they have almost always found their opponent retreat, as they are not very fond of the smell of powder. When one student offends another in a very insulting manner, the latter has the liberty of challenging him *auf Pistolen*, (on pistols,) as the Germans express it, and it is then though cowardly not to accept it on these conditions.

When death ensues from these duels, the laws of Hanover condemn the principals and seconds to several years imprisonment. If they are natives, they are also prohibited holding offices under the government. When they fight in this manner, if they can

afford the expense, they usually cross the Danish, Dutch, or French lines, and after the duel immediately retreat into Germany; if not, they cross into some other German state, and after fighting return to Hanover, where they conceal themselves for a long time, or make their escape through the assistance of their friends, as the police of the different German states act in concert in detecting the offenders. An exile of a few years is sufficient to let the affair blow over, when they return and live peaceably at home.

Their mode of fighting with pistols is peculiar I believe to Germany. A line is drawn, and the two combatants at the distance of ten rods from it, advance towards each other, with the privilege of firing just when they please. This they rarely do, until within a short distance of each other. If one has fired and missed, or slightly wounded his opponent, he is required to advance to the line, to which his antagonist approaches. When within a foot of him, it is considered perfectly honourable to shoot him through the heart, which he commonly does, unless his pistol merely flashes, or unless he possesses more than usual generosity. How such barbarism should have continued to the nineteenth century, in a Christian country, is to me inexplicable.

As the German students are usually so poor as to find it very difficult to meet the expenses of their education, these combats would of necessity almost cease, were the *Landmannschaften* once abolished. These institutions are in the fullest sense of the word the great nurseries of duelling. They not only furnish the necessary weapons, dresses, &c. but they keep alive that spirit of jealousy which is so conspicuous in this university. When one Landsmannschaft is insulted by the student of another, it sometimes occurs, that both of these clans are brought into the quarrel. In such cases, it is necessary for every member to take his turn, and fight for the honour of his brotherhood. In such instances, he rarely, if ever, knows who is to be his opponent, until a short time before the combat begins, and then perhaps he fights with one whom he has never seen before.

The genuine university duel, differs from any other in Europe. In some slight degree the mode varies in the different universities, but the leading features are every where the same. The weapon used is a straight sword, about three feet in length. Near the

point it has a double edge, so that it will cut equally well on either side. To protect the hand a circular piece of brass or iron of six or eight inches in diamater rises between the handle and the blade. These three parts are separated from each other, the cap receiving the circle of defence, the handle being placed in their pockets, and the blade concealed in a hollow cane, or carried under their coats, Thus prepared they promenade the streets, and go to the theatre of combat, without even exciting a suspicion in the minds of the *gendarmes* or constables, (for I know not what else to call them,) attached to the university. When assembled at the room which is to be the scene of their prowess, the parties consist of the following persons. The combatants,—the seconds,—the umpire who is chosen by the seconds, whose province it is to determine when they shall commence, and when they shall terminate their contest, the surgeon, and finally a few friends of the parties, who are usually invited as witnesses. The dress consists of very thick gloves, which come almost to the elbows ; and of a leathern jacket corresponding with a breast plate, which is so stuffed and padded that a sword cannot penetrate it. This descends below the hips, and guards every vital part of the body. Nothing but the face is thus exposed ; as if this were the only part of the person, worthy of being ornamented with scars. At this they aim all their blows, as it is considered unworthy of a *Bursch* to strike at the legs of his opponent. The seconds are arrayed in the same costume as the combatants. They place themselves on each side of their friends with drawn swords, and ward off those blows which defy the skill of the principals. Although not in the thickest of the affray, they not unfrequently receive wounds themselves.

A duelling code is established here, by which all the students are governed. I have not yet been able to procure it, but have been informed of some of the laws. From them as well as from descriptions of such scenes from eye witnesses, I shall be able to give you an idea of such a combat. If the offence is trifling, they strike a certain number of blows, I think it is twelve, and if no blood flows, they shake hands and separate. If the offence is of greater magnitude, they continue fighting until one of them is wounded, or until they have struck twelve times twelve. During a long contest, which results from an equality of skill on the part of the combat-

ants, they occasionally stop to recover their breath, and after a few minutes respite, they commence again with new ardour, continuing the strife in some instances half an hour, before either of the parties is wounded. Whenever blood is visible, the umpire immediately orders a suspension of arms. The surgeon then examines the wound. If it is two inches in length, and opens of itself one-fourth of an inch, the duel ceases; as a wound of these dimensions is considered ample satisfaction for any offence, which can be atoned for by the sword. The parties then become friends, the grasp of the hand being the sign of reconcilliation; and leaving the wounded student with the surgeon, they repair to town, provided as is usually the case, the duel is fought at a little distance from it.

Many of the students here, are horribly hacked, and not a small number of them carry on their faces the scars of many a duel. It not unfrequently happens that these wounds transform a very fine face almost into deformity. Instances have occurred where both eyes have been put out by a too well directed blow; in others the nose* has been cut off, or the jaw has been so wounded as never to recover from it. Within a short time, one of the students has lost his nose; another an eye; while others have been so hacked as to be disfigured for life. They seem as proud of these scars as an old Roman warrior, apparently believing that their reputation for courage will be in proportion to their number and size. I have been informed by those who have had every opportunity to form a correct estimate, that more than two hundred of these duels have been fought here during the present term.† Among the students I

* You probably have heard that artificial noses are made in Europe. One of the Heidelberg students who had lost this member in such a contest, procured one, which was in his opinion a very respectable nose. While fishing in the Rhine, as he looked over the side of the boat to watch his nibbles, this ornament unfortunately dropped into the stream, and was lost forever. I received this anecdote from one of the Leipzig students, who had no doubt of the truth of it.

† There are two semesters a year, about four and a half months each. The remaining three months no lectures are given. Some of the professors commence their lectures a week and even ten days earlier, and continue them as much longer than others. Consequently students in some of the departments, remain a short time, after those in others have left Göttingen for their homes.

have two acquaintances, one of whom during this period, has fought seven and the other six times. These are not very rare instances. It is currently reported, that another has sent and received eighteen challenges, which are to be cancelled by as many duels the approaching Semester or term.

The thirst for acquiring distinction, by fighting, and by getting into *rows* with the police, with the Philistines and with each other, attracts many young men to these universities; who reside here for no other object than to pass their time as pleasantly as possible, with the intention of leaving behind them the brilliant reputation of a genuine *Bursch.* While here, their hours are passed in fencing, riding, smoking, drinking beer, and fighting, and in all these accomplishments, they take the lead. This class which may form perhaps a tenth part of the students, make more noise, and fight more duels, unless there is a quarrel between the Landsmannschaften than all the others. They are the men who always stand ready to dispute the pavement with you, and *Sie sind ein dummer Junge* is always on the end of their tongues. They are ready to embark in any carousal, and the *Burschen* songs coming from their throats salute your ear long after all honest persons should be at home. These are the men at all the universities, who fill the beer cellars with smoke, and songs, and with noise, from the loud laugh which issues from these subterranean caverns, to the thundering shout with which they greet the air as they emerge into star light. All the duellists however, are not of this character. Some of those who fight are very peaceable and gentlemanly in their deportment. If, however, they have the reputation of being expert swordsmen, they are sure of being challenged by the class of students just mentioned, who with the hope of gaining the reputation of wounding them in combat, cheerfully expose their faces to the danger of receiving such honourable scars. It is very probable that you may consider this picture as coloured, but it is not. I have availed myself of every opportunity to gain correct information on this subject, by conversing with those who have long resided here. Were you to inquire of one of the professors, he would probably think the estimate of the number of duels much too large, as he would know of such only, as came under the cognizance of the police. These duels are conducted with such

secresy that not one in ten comes to the knowledge of that body, unless until long after they have terminated, and but few even then. They are well known among the students, even days before they occur; but so strictly is the custom adhered to of concealing them from the government, that were every student of the university to be informed that a duel would take place at a given time, the secret would not be divulged. Were you however to inquire of any *Bursch*, he would tell you that the number above mentioned was a moderate estimate. Some with whom I have conversed, have estimated it much higher.

The University of Göttingen is not more distinguished in this respect, than the similar institutions situated in the small towns. The students at Jena, and Heidelberg,* are considered as wild fellows in comparison with those of this city. In Berlin and Leipzig duels are much more rare than in the small towns, as the police, particularly in the former city, are sufficiently numerous to keep the students in order. The opinions of the citizens also exert an insensible influence over them, and they thus lose some of that uncouthness of manner which forms so prominent a feature of their character. One would suppose that when such inflammable materials go forth into the world, (for of the sixteen thousand students now in the German universities, at least six thousand leave them yearly,) they would set Germany into a blaze. This is far from being the case. The students at Paris, after fighting the *gendarmes*, as they do at the funeral of every French patriot, and on every occasion where there is hope of success, embark in active life, and settle down into quiet, peaceable subjects; never exhibiting more ire than is seen in a blast of words against the ministry, or in a commendation of Napoleon. Like them, the German students return home, and soon commence their professions; and leaving all their love of noise behind them, pass down the current of time, in peace with all mankind. They do not even indulge their feel-

* In the month of September, 1826, I descended the Rhine in company with half a dozen students from Heidelberg. I asked them how many duels had been fought at Heidelberg, during the term which had just closed. They all agreed, that there had been at least three hundred during the four and a half months. There were at that time less than seven hundred students in that university.

ings of opposition to the government, or, at least, they do not express them. They receive even the humble offices which the ministers deign to give them, with the greatest gratitude, and speak of their duels and blusterings while in the university, as the extremity of folly.*

The noisy, fighting *Burschen*, whose numbers are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, form a body quite distinct from the great majority of the students. Besides this class, there are two others. Of these, the first are young men of fortune, who come here and remain two or three years, because no gentleman is thought to have completed his education who has not remained several years at a university. They are not very studious, but still derive not a little benefit from such a residence, it being impossible for any man, not even for the wildest *Bursch*, to be in the literary atmosphere of one of the German universities, without inhaling knowledge. The second class are students, properly so called, who form a great majority of the young men residing here. They belong principally to the poor and middling classes of society, who are stimulated by the spur of necessity, and by a deep and ever active passion for learning. They are forced by the laws of opinion, to fight a duel occasionally, perhaps two or three times during their residence at these institutions; but these are only momentary interruptions. By them they are regarded as necessary evils, and from such combats they return to their studies with new ardour. Very many of them pass three or four hours a day in the lecture rooms, and while at their own rooms they improve their time, as if resolved to be foremost in the race. The rich treasures of the library are within their reach, and these, by assiduous application, they make their own.

Göttingen still retains its distinguished rank among the universities of this country, at least if we may form an opinion from the number of its students. They amount, at the present time, to almost sixteen hundred; a greater number than are found at any other,

* This account of the duels of the students in this university, was written six months before I met with Russel's Tour in Germany. His account of the combats of the *Burschen* of Jena, corresponds with that I have here given. The resemblance between his description of the students, and my own, is not greater than must necessarily exist between two delineations of the same subject.

those of Berlin and Vienna excepted. The former has, within a few years, risen with astonishing rapidity to the first rank among the schools of science; the latter, from its being in the populous capital of a large empire, presents such facilities to students pursuing medicine and some other branches, that it must of necessity (even subjected as the professors are to the noxious influence of Austrian politics) rise numerically to the first rank. Leipzig, Prague, and Halle, have from eleven to thirteen hundred each. After these come Bonn, Heidelberg, Tübingen, &c.

This university, which bears the name of Georgia Augusta, was founded in the year 1734, by George the second of England. In its erection no expense was spared, and the most distinguished savans in Germany were invited to the professorial chair. Such inducements were presented to them, that in a short time it boasted of a greater number of learned men, than almost any other institution of this country. Two years after the university was founded, Haller was appointed professor of anatomy. His extensive reputation soon drew a great number of students to this city; and by his labours, and by those of his companions, its fame, as a medical school, was extended throughout Europe. Michaelis, "the prince of orientalists," as De Rossi calls him, was invited here eleven years after. The reputation of Göttingen in oriental literature soon surpassed every other university in this country; and students came from the remotest parts of Germany to attend his lectures. Through his exertions, Frederick V. of Denmark was induced to send Niebuhn to Syria and Arabia, for the purpose of gaining information on the actual state of those countries. The famous questions which Michaelis gave him at that time, have always been regarded by the orientalists of Europe, as exhibiting a research, rarely equalled in the history of eastern literature. Heyne, who succeeded the celebrated linguist Gessner, in the department of classic literature, greatly extended the fame of this institution. These professors, with Kastner, Lichtenberg, Tobias, Meyer, Mosheim, and many others, by their indefatigable efforts, and their extensive learning gave a celebrity to this university, which for a long period was unequalled by that of any other in Germany.

The rapid rise of this institution, as well as that of Berlin, presents, in a striking manner, the facility of diffusing literature

through a country where the schools are provided with funds adequate to command talent, and with the *materiel* of learning. Münchhausen, who was the Hanoverian minister of George II. when this university was founded, not only possessed most enlarged views on the subject of education, but a thorough knowledge of all the means necessary to effect an object so dear to him. The establishment of the Academy at Berlin, as well as the flourishing state of the universities of Germany, excited in his mind a desire to see something done to elevate Hanover to the same literary rank as her neighbours. Before this period, this kingdom, intellectually speaking, was inferior to many of the neighbouring states. To effect this object, this able minister, with the full approbation of his sovereign, spared no expense to place this infant institution on a foundation superior to any of those then existing in Germany. He perfectly realised, that whatever the professors might be, the students would make limited progress without the *materiel* of literature; and his first effort was to procure a library worthy of a university. Instead of lumbering the shelves with monkish traditions, and obsolete theology, those works only were purchased which were in the highest degree useful as books of reference. A very large sum was annually appropriated to this object, which being augmented with the increasing number of students, the library soon presented a valuable collection of works in every branch of learning. He procured also cabinets of science, and there was, in a short time, no branch of instruction that did not feel his patronage. Whenever he discovered men of superior talent, he invited them to his new institution; and when once established there, he made them not only his own friends, but from the facilities which the university presented for pursuing their studies, they soon became so attached to it, as rarely, if ever, to leave it for another. To place it on the best footing, he carried on a correspondence with the most distinguished scholars of Germany; with the double object of placing them in its chairs, whenever vacancies occurred, and of receiving from them all that information so necessary to its modelling and perfection. The professors had previously received but a very limited support. He increased their salaries, and placed them on a footing of comparative independence, so that they could apply all their power to the great objects before them. During the thirty-two years that he was

curator of this school of learning, he was indefatigable in his efforts to promote its prosperity. Long before his death he had the satisfaction of beholding Göttingen taking the first rank among the universities of his country, and enrolling among its professors some of the first men of the age. The same liberal course was pursued by his successors, and this institution continued, for a long period after his death, the wonder and admiration of Germany.

In this university, as in most others in Europe, there are four *Faculties*, or departments. The professors are divided into two classes, Ordinary and Extraordinary. The former receive from the government a salary, never less than eight hundred, and rarely more than two thousand rix dollars, for they are paid in proportion to their reputation. When the fame of a professor has extended throughout Germany, and still more when it has become European, his name alone, particularly if he belongs to one of the professional departments, often adds some hundreds to the number of students. Hugo and Eichhorn the son, in the legal department here, Gesenius in the theological at Halle, and Sevignè in the legal at Berlin, by their European reputation, have become to a considerable degree, identified with the prosperity of the institutions where they reside. As every university in Germany has the right of inviting the professors of any other to one of her chairs, such scholars as I have just named, are constantly receiving invitations from other institutions, accompanied with the most flattering pecuniary offers. Even monarchs sometimes write to them, making proposals which few would decline accepting, if the governments under whose jurisdiction they reside, did not counteract them by making others still more advantageous. Such professors have of course the power in their own hands, and there are few who do not make use of it. In no other country are literary men thus thrown as it were into the market, and struck off to the highest bidder.

There are at the present time eighty-nine professors and teachers in this university. The theological department is divided into ecclesiastical history, exegesis of Greek and Oriental literature, and polemic theology. The legal includes, civil, criminal, Roman, German law, &c. To the medical, in addition to those branches usually connected with it, is added Natural History. Under the philosophical, all those professors are engaged, who do not belong

to one of the above mentioned classes, and even some of those whom we should assign to the faculty of theology. In this almost universal department as it should be called, are included Exegesis in Hebrew, Persian, Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, and Spanish literature, Statistics, modern and ancient History, Political Economy, Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, Politics, Mythology, the Fine Arts, Logic; and in some of the universities to this belong also Chemistry, Mineralogy, Entomology, Lectures on the old German poets, and on the Gothic language. You will probably ask what most of these subjects have to do with philosophy. To this I can only reply, that when used in reference to the universities in the most extended sense, it means almost every subject, excepting, law, theology, and medicine, which has occupied the human mind since the reign of alchymy ended. The Ordinary professors give, or at least are expected to give, one course of lectures gratis; though not more than half of them do it. They have the privilege of delivering as many private courses as they please, for which they receive a Frederick d'or from each student, for each course that he attends.

For a long period after the establishment of this university, it was the custom not only here but elsewhere, for all the professors to deliver lectures gratis. They received but a limited support, as their salaries were then much smaller than at the present time. Michaelis opened a course of private lectures, and met with such pecuniary success, that his example was soon followed, in other schools. To secure the greatest possible income, and still comply with the laws, they make the least interesting course public, and those which are the most valuable private. The public lectures, which were at first delivered four or five times a week, soon dwindled to two and even one lecture weekly. Within a few years, many have entirely abandoned their public courses, and no student now attends their lectures without paying his Frederic d'or. From their private leetures they are very handsomely rewarded, when they possess talent and an extensive reputation, and their receipts are exactly in proportion to their fame. There are two semestres, or terms, in each year. The lectures commence ten minutes after the sound of the clock, and terminate the moment it strikes; the professor detaining them no longer than to finish his sentence.

To a greater delay they would not submit, not even to finish his paragraph, as it might prevent them from reaching the lecture room of some other professor; it being considered indecorous for a student to enter after he has commenced.

Many of the professors give two and three distinct courses, and cases have been known where they have given four. Most of these include four or five lectures per week, during four months and a half. From the receipts of their private lectures, united with their salaries, some of the most distinguished professors, particularly those in the legal departments, receive five or six thousand dollars per annum. One or two of them have a still larger income, for they have not unfrequently from two to three hundred auditors at each course. The income even of these will not exceed that of many of the Oxford and Cambridge professors, some of whom do not deliver a dozen lectures yearly. This is a striking exhibition, of the difference which necessity produces, in the efforts even of literary men.

The legal faculty embraces more talent than the medical or theological, and is thought superior to that of any other university of Germany. More than half of the students belong to this department. At the head of this stand Hugo, and Eichhorn the son, whose fame is now little inferior to that of his father. In theology, Göttingen formerly surpassed every other university of this country. As most of the professors are now advanced in life, and as it is generally thought that they have not kept pace with the progress of this science in Germany, this department does not maintain its former reputation. The fame of Gesenius, De Wette, Rosenmüller, and Schleiermacher, have attracted to the cities where they reside, many of the students, who would otherwise have come here.

The medical faculty is in higher repute, embracing some men of distinguished talents, among whom is Langenbeck. The Germans boast of him as being the first surgeon in the world, though to this opinion the English and Parisian surgeons would undoubtedly demur. Unfortunately for this branch of instruction, Göttingen is too small to afford the facilities necessary for a complete education in medicine and surgery. There is but one hospital, and that is confined to one branch of disease. There is also a comparative

deficiency in the practical part of anatomy and surgery, not merely in relation to dissections, but to anatomical cabinets. Though the Germans have had many very able physicians and surgeons, their schools of medicine have rarely attracted students from abroad. With the exception of those of Berlin, Breslau, Königsburg, Prague and Vienna, they are all in small towns the largest of which, Leipzig, does not contain over forty thousand inhabitants, while most of them are little if any superior to Göttingen in population. Even the capitals of Austria and Prussia are not yet large enough to present any thing like the same advantages to the medical student, as those which he enjoys in the French metropolis, notwithstanding this department has always received the peculiar patronage of the governments. Those of Paris are so great, that the student has nothing to wish for, particularly in relation to the number and divisions of the hospitals, and the numerous means which are within his reach, to perfect himself in surgery and anatomy. Accordingly we find young men from Brazil, and the United States, to the Wolga, and from the Morea to Finland, resorting to the medical school of Paris, to enjoy those facilities which no other city presents, to acquire a thorough knowledge of their profession.

In oriental literature, with the exception of Hebrew, this institution, as well as every other in Germany, is decidedly inferior to that of Paris, which not merely in this department, but in medicine, and also in most of the physical sciences, is without a parallel in the history of literature. It is true that there are many more orientalists in Germany than in France, probably several times as many; but they are residing in twenty-two universities, including those of Kiel and Basle, while most of the French savans make Paris their place of residence. There are several of their institutions also in France, but for centuries the French government has made great exertions to give an eclat to that of the metropolis. As literature has always shed the greatest lustre over a capital, the monarchs of France have made the university of Paris, the recipient of most of their patronage. This partial distribution of their favours, has given a gigantic magnitude to that institution, when contrasted with those situated in the provinces, and even with most others in Europe. Germany having no capital, and being divided into thirty or forty independent states, can never

possess any one university, which as a whole can compare with that of the French metropolis, although there are five or six times as many profound scholars here as in France, and the *materiel* of literature is several times as extensive.

The German professors are as a body the most indefatigable students in the world. They are not, like the French and Italian literati, social in their habits. They reside chiefly in small towns, where there is little without to attract them. They consequently find it much easier than their western neighbours, to pass fifteen or sixteen hours a day in their lecture rooms, and in the society of folios. Even those residing in the large cities have acquired such habits of application, that they are almost as ignorant of the amusements around them, as strangers. In most of the cities where they reside, there are no intellectual foci, like the Institute and the numerous literary and scientific societies, which form so many mental groups at Paris. A Frenchman is born for society, and nothing but an ardent love for literature, united with long habits of application, will make him so independent of the living, as to be willing to converse only with the mighty dead. A German scholar from his retired life, finds society a burden, and never does he feel more at his ease, than when surrounded by his auditors or his manuscripts. It is true that some of the French literati are rarely if ever surpassed even by the Germans in application, but as a body, they do not exhibit that intensity of research, that you find in the students east of the Rhine. The professors of the university of Paris rarely give more than four lectures a week, some of them only two, and several but one. They receive a fixed salary, and after their appointment, they have no motive to application but their love of study and of fame. Those of the German universities are not only influenced by these considerations, but also by another, which is all-powerful, the desire of acquiring property. Few minds ever become so purely intellectual, as not to be stimulated by the pleasures and comforts which wealth brings in its train, and certainly not that of a German professor, whose reputation in the eyes of the government, is measured not a little by the number of auditors who frequent his lecture room. The students are entirely unrestrained in their studies; attending those lectures, and those only, which interest them. They can even absent themselves

from all, without being called to an account, unless after a year or more of total idleness, they may perhaps be advised to leave the university. It is consequently indispensable to their fame, as well as to their pecuniary comfort, that they should rise at least to respectability in their departments. This additional impulse calls forth all those powers, which a love of literature or of fame had not awakened. They apply themselves to their studies with an ardour which insures them a victory over difficulty; and enables them to present their opinions in a most interesting light. The effect of this is a numerous audience, deeply attentive to their instructions, and treasuring in their note books, their most valuable thoughts.

The professors, of whom I have heard a considerable number, deliver their lectures from copious notes. They have usually a dull delivery, and rarely if ever rise to eloquence Their intense application, their seclusion from society, and if we may believe Madame de Stael, something also in their climate, (for she says that time appears to march more slowly here than elsewhere,) prevent most of them from rising above a singing monotonous tone in their utterance, and from catching the inspiration of their subject. They present an abundance of fact and argument, but never make you glow with enthusiasm. In this respect they are the antipodes of the French, whose language is meagre in comparison. I have seen some of the professors of the university of Paris, particularly Messrs. Villemain and Andrieux, the former at the Sorbonne, the latter at the *college royal*, keep their audience in breathless silence for many minutes. Inspired by this riveted attention, they poured forth a stream of eloquence, which carried every auditor along with it, bearing down every objection, and forcing every mind to yield its assent. At the conclusion of such a strain, the lecture room was filled with shouts of "bravo, bravissimo," which were prolonged for many minutes. The excitement produced by this "blaze of genius and this burst of thought," was so great, that they were under the necessity of continuing their discourse in the midst of applauses, which ceased only because their hearers were unwilling to lose the connecting chain of thought. It reminded me of the effect ascribed to the eloquence of Cicero, in the Roman forum, and to thrilling emotions excited by the addresses of the great Hendrick among his heroic warriors. I have

never seen greater effects produced by Talma, or Mademoiselle Mars, than by these gentlemen, or beheld the faces of a thousand auditors glowing with higher admiration. That they would have excited equal ardour in a German audience, is not probable. Could they have lectured in German, which is the richest and noblest language of Europe, they would have roused their comparatively cold hearers, to at least a positive degree of excitement. The great reason why the French professors are eloquent, is, that they lecture extempore. Feeling, as almost all Frenchmen do, a perfect freedom from embarrassment, and daring consequently to eye their audience, they behold with increasing pleasure the thousand faces which they are lighting up with animation, and kindle into a glow of eloquence no less surprising to themselves, than to their hearers. Had the French orators a language worthy of their minds, if they did not rise to a higher elevation of thought, they would at least produce a greater effect than any speakers, who have ever addressed an audience, since the Roman forum has ceased to make the heavens ring with the name of Cicero.

The German savans are not eloquent, because their life of seclusion removes them so far from the hearts of others, that they never know what strings they should touch to agitate the feelings of their audience. Some of them also are like Faust, when about commencing, with Mephistopheles, his new course of life.

> Ich wuste nie mich in die Welt zu schicken,
> Vor andern fühl' ich mich so klein;
> Ich werde stets verlegen seyn.

Others, if they are not equally embarrassed, do not feel any enthusiasm at the sight of their auditors. The great majority of them keep their eyes, most of the time, on their books or notes; and if, for a moment, they attempt to speak from feeling, they soon return to them, not daring to venture far from the shore. This unfortunate custom of lecturing from books, and reading their manuscripts, which prevails so generally in the German universities, has been the ruin of eloquence in these institutions. The fault is not in the students, it is in the professors. Even to their dry arguments and facts, the former give the most minute attention,

and any one who should warm with his subject, would make them kindle with enthusiasm, as the history of Germany, during the years 1813 and 1814, proves conclusively. Messieurs Villemain and Andrieux, to whom reference has been made, were, in every instance that I heard them, lecturing on subjects which were purely literary: for example, on the beauties of the Britanicus of Racine, of the Telemaque of Fenelon, or were explaining the general principles of literature, and the proper manner of studying belles lettres. How many subjects, worthy of such minds, does the *Index Lectionum* of a German university present! Could the professors throw off their embarrassment, and feel like men; with their profound and extensive views of their subjects, they would animate the faces of their hearers with a glow of admiration.

In describing this university, I have spoken only of the ordinary professors. The next, and the inferior class, are called extraordinary. They receive a very limited salary from the government, not enough to support them, even in celibacy. They also deliver lectures on what subjects they please, for which they receive from their auditors the same fees as their brethren above them. This station is a stepping stone to the ordinary professorship, but one on which they have usually to rest from eight to ten years, and, if not active in their pursuits, for life. As they select their own subjects, they often become the rivals of their older brethren, who are compelled frequently to gird themselves anew for the race, or see themselves not only overtaken, but left behind. Of the beneficial effects of this arrangement, no one can doubt who has passed a fortnight at a German university.

There is also a third class, who are called lecturers or teachers, which, I believe, is peculiar to the German universities. Students, who have completed their course, and who aim at a professor's chair, usually remain several years at the institution, pursuing some particular department of literature or science, with the intention of eventually giving lectures. They then make application to the government, for permission to deliver a course. On being examined and found qualified, they are enrolled on the humble list of teachers. They commence their career under circumstances sufficiently gloomy to discourage any one, who is not influenced by an intense love of literature and fame. Before them they see the

extraordinary professors rising to eminence, while the rooms of most of the older teachers are thronged. Whatever their talents may be, they have to lay the foundation of their reputation, and that, too, against rivals whose fame is sometimes European. Years roll away, and they see their lecture rooms only here and there attended by auditors. Most of them are in indigent circumstances, and with all the inconveniences of poverty, they often find that the receipts from their lectures, even for years, do not equal the annual rent of their rooms. Without any resources, they would abandon their employment in despair, were they not able, as private instructers, to gain enough to prevent the lamp of life from being extinguished. For a very moderate compensation, they devote three or four hours a day to the instruction of as many students in languages, or in their particular provinces, and not unfrequently toil on in this manner for years, when the death of a rival lecturer, or some fortunate circumstance, fills their rooms with students, for a time at least, and thus brings them into notice. They are now no longer under the necessity of losing a large part of their time in this course of instruction, but devoting all their hours to their particular department, they advance rapidly. The sufferings, which they must of necessity experience, during the first five or six years of their progress, are enough to depress the most courageous minds. Fortunately for them, there is one medium of appearing before the public, where they will meet with justice, viz. the press. To this most of them resort, and before they have been occupied many years as lecturers, some ponderous octavo is published, in which, not unfrequently, eight or ten languages appear in the form of illustration. If the work has merit, it receives its due commendations in some dozen or more of the literary journals of this country; and the author is immediately regarded, by those around him, as a new star of greater or less brilliancy, just rising above the literary horizon. A single work of this description, not unfrequently procures for a lecturer the extraordinary chair, sometimes even the offer of it from several universities.

There are two other establishments connected with this institution, which are probably peculiar to those of this country; the object of which is to improve the health of the students, as well as

to qualify those who design to enter the army for their future profession. During the war with France, the German cavalry usually found themselves inferior to their enemies. To remedy this evil, a new department was established in each of the universities, to instruct the students in every thing relating, not merely to riding, but to the government and management of horses. In the hippodrome, which is a large edifice, those students who intend entering the army, as well as others, exercise one or more hours daily. Two professors are connected with this department; one of whom gives lectures on the government of horses, the other on the anatomy and physiology of that animal, as well as of all others which are made use of in agriculture. This department of instruction is very popular with many of the students, and is generally considered indispensable to a good preparation for the army.

The fencing school, which forms the second additional department to which I have referred, is very much patronised, not only by those who intend entering the army, but by most of the students who expect to be under the necessity of fighting a duel. The duellists make this school the principal place of resort, and here perfect themselves in the use of the broadsword. To excel here, is more important to them than become the ablest exeget, or jurist, in the university. The proficiency they make often excites the desire of putting their skill to practise, which is easily gratified by insulting the first student they meet. This school has thus become one of the great sources of duelling, and it is surprising that it has not been long since abolished on this account.

The library of Göttingen is universally acknowledged to be the most valuable in Germany. In the number of volumes it is inferior only to those of Vienna and Munich: in manuscripts, of which there are but five thousand, it is surpassed by several. This country contains a greater number of large libraries than any other. In truth, every day's ride presents you a new one, of which almost every metropolis would be proud, if not for the number of the volumes, yet certainly for their value. Münchhausen, during his administration, had his eye constantly fixed on the library of this institution, and spared no expense in procuring all those valuable works of every language, which the resources

of Hanover could purchase. In a few years it increased to fifty thousand volumes. Some of the most distinguished professors have been librarians, and at the present time, the principal employment of one of them, is to discover through the medium of domestic and foreign journals, all the valuable works which appear in Europe and America, that they may be purchased for the library. From its foundation, they have pursued the plan of purchasing cheap editions, that they might increase as far as possible its literary value. While the resources of other libraries have often been expended to gratify the eye with splendid specimens of typography, the directors of this have been influenced solely by intellectual beauty. Not only almost all the valuable works which have been published in Europe, during the last seventy years, but most of those also which have appeared since the invention of printing, are now to be found on its shelves. Probably no library existed which was so free from literary trash, no one which in valuable printed works could compare with this. To procure those books which are most valuable to the student, has been their only aim, and if any ephemeral publications have found their way to its saloons, they came here only through the medium of donation. Every useful work in whatever language it may be written, soon finds a place here. The number of books in foreign languages is many times greater than in German, notwithstanding the prodigious fertility of the German press. By this judicious course, it has acquired a reputation which is hardly surpassed by that of the Vatican or by *la Bibliothèque Royale*, and though inferior to these in the number of its volumes, it is regarded as superior to them in value, and to every other in the world. Ninety-one years since, the first volume of this library was purchased; at the present time there are three hundred thousand, the brightest productions of the human mind. Almost one hundred and fifty years ago, the library of Yale College was founded: there are now eight thousand volumes. Hanover, during that time, has been exposed to frequent wars; has been compelled to maintain in peace and war, a large army for its defence; and has often had to support those of her enemies and her allies. In peace and in war, she has groaned under the burden of a taxation, which we only know by the hearing of the ear. It is a country which is

poor in proportion to its population, when compared with Connecticut, and still its government, during less than a century, has raised this noble monument of literature. That of Connecticut has not added two thousand volumes to the library of Yale. What a melancholy contrast does this present to every liberal man! When will the time come that we shall begin to feel the importance of doing something for the mind? How long must our students hunger for literary nourishment, and not be filled? When will the increase of our libraries be thought as important as the construction of a new turnpike, as digging a canal, or draining a marsh, or any of the other physical improvements, which elicit so much eloquence on the floors of our State houses, and attract the gaze of thousands.

The richness of this library cannot be realised by one who has not often examined it. A few promenades through its numerous and noble saloons, will give a stranger an idea of its magnitude; but to become acquainted with its wonderful value, it is necessary to pass weeks, and even months, in the examination. There are few works which have interested the literary world, since the invention of printing, that cannot be found here. Do you wish to write, for example, a history of Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, or England? You will not only find here most of the valuable works, in the language of the country whose history you are writing, but those in every other also. Independently of that assistance which one derives from consulting manuscripts, and from mingling with a people, which every historian should do, in order to become acquainted with the institutions of the country, and their influence in forming the character of the nation; he could write, in some respects, a better history here, than in the capital of the kingdom. Are you, for example, writing a history of Spain, you not only find most of the valuable Spanish historians, but the very best French, English, Italian, and Portuguese works on this subject; an assistance which the Spanish historian would search for in vain in the royal library of Madrid, or the English, French, or Italian, in those of the Bodleian, the Royal, or the Ambrosian. The same remark is equally applicable to the histories of literature of almost every age, to the fine arts, to classic literature, and in fact, to almost every subject which has

interested mankind. Though the other libraries of Germany are not equally rich in foreign literature, they are still sufficiently so, to exhibit a most inviting prospect to the student. In consequence of the immense resources which these libraries present, we find the literati of Germany, embarking in the investigations of new subjects, before which most minds shrink, and entering on their course with a courage superior to fear, and an ardour which seldom tires. From this cause proceeds that very extensive knowledge of languages, which you discover in the works and illustrations of so many of the professors. They are not satisfied merely with the opinions of their countrymen, on the subjects which they are investigating, but to acquire the views of foreign scholars and writers, they learn new languages, undismayed by the difficulties they present. From the richness of their libraries results that astonishing subdivision of labour, you find in the *Index Lectionum* of the universities. They thus become literary cosmopolites. No river, no chain of mountains, is to them a boundary; but crossing oceans, and scaling Uralian and Caucasian summits, their minds explore the intellectual regions of the Andes, and the Cordilleras, of the Tigris and the Nile. From their early education at the gymnasia, and still more at the university, they become divested of those prejudices so frequent among Frenchmen and Americans, that their native languages contain most of the treasuries of the mind. With a literature, richer than almost any country in Europe, they despise those localities of feeling which make most nations as ignorant of each other's language, as of that of a distant planet. To their minds, there is no exclusive country, bounded by rivers or mountains, or imaginary lines; their home is the intellectual world. Here they live, and feel, and act, and hail as a friend, whoever has enlarged the boundaries, of real or ideal existence; under whatever religious or political despotism he may have been born, or whether he was educated on the Ohio or the Ganges.

The arrangement of this library is not only superior to any I have seen in Europe, but I know not how it is possible to improve it. One saloon is devoted to history, another to medicine, another to the Greek classics, to law, or to theology, &c. Take, for instance, the saloon of history, in which the best historical

works and memoirs relating to countries, ancient and modern, are assembled. All those written in German occupy one series of shelves; those in English, another; those, in French, a third. These are subdivided into the histories of the different countries. All the German histories of Germany, of Greece, of Rome, of England, &c. are ranged together in reference to the countries, and placed according to the time of their publication. The histories of other countries are arranged in a similar manner. In the theological, the medical, the classical, and other departments, the works are arranged after their subjects, with all the subdivisions which they will allow. Knowing the title of a work, you can, of course, immediately find it. The great simplicity of this arrangement recommends itself to every one. I hope, some centuries hence, that some one, at least, of our libraries may be sufficiently extensive, to make a similar arrangement necessary.

There are two catalogues of this library. The first is like those found in all others, a list of the titles; the other is peculiar, I believe, to this collection. It is a list of all the subjects, alphabetically arranged, with references to the chapter and section. If, for example, you wish to write a history of the commerce of the Tyrians, you look for the word Commerce. Here you will see the different nations from A. in succession; and, having arrived at Tyre, you will find references to all the works in the library which treat of this subject. With such facilities, how much time is saved! With such a library, and such catalogues, the student, if he does not discover "a royal road to learning," finds, after he has become familiar with many languages, that her paths are covered with flowers. There is here none of that thirsting after knowledge which every student feels in our country, without discovering any thing to allay the fever of desire. Here he finds a home for his mind. The intellectual fruits of every age, and of every clime, are here assembled; the productions of the Ganges and the Tagus, of Ispahan, of Arabia, and of Europe, are spread before him. The songs of Hafiz, and of the poets of Palestine, and of Arabia, charm him with their oriental beauty, and alternate in their power over his mind, with the odes of Pindar and of Klopstock. Distant ages here rise into new life, and remote countries spread their variegated beauties around him. Wherever he wanders, he finds

a new prospect opening to his view, adorned with every variety; and in this almost fairy land he continues during life, constantly searching for new objects of beauty, and finding them, if his heart is right with God and man, sufficiently numerous to satisfy the enthusiasm of the most ardent mind.

In the centre of the saloons of the library, are tables and chairs for those of the students who wish to consult books. Here you see them constantly occupied in examining those works, which they do not wish to take to their rooms. The library is accessible every day in the week, Sunday excepted. On Wednesday and Saturday, it is open two hours, on other days but one. There are six librarians, whose sole business is to attend upon the students, who apply to them for books, whether for consultation or perusal. This practice of opening the library every day, makes it almost as valuable to the students as to the professors; the former of whom resort to it in great numbers, and derive from it important advantages. The libraries of our own colleges, one would believe, are collected principally for the use of the professors. So far as my knowledge extends, there is not one of them often open for consultation, the chief benefit to be derived from a great collection of books. In that of Göttingen, there are probably one hundred thousand volumes which are not read, and never will be read by the students; but, as books of reference. they are invaluable, and as such they are examined continually. They are wanted for a single fact, or date, or argument, which is of great importance to the individual who consults them. Many of them, probably, are never looked at by him again during life. The possession of a single book may thus give a new train to his thoughts, and excite a spirit of investigation, which may give, in some degree, a direction to the minds of thousands. In writing a work, particularly where the subject requires much research, an author, with such a library before him, might wish to consult several hundred volumes, not one of which he would entirely peruse. If he has such a library within his reach, he cannot fail to present much that is new to his readers. With our barren libraries, how can we ever expect to acquire a literary reputation. We may have an abundance of tales and novels; but, whatever their merit may be, we shall never find them giving us more than a transient fame out of our own

country. The Greek and Latin languages have been studied more than two centuries in the United States, and not two critical works on the writings of Athens and Rome, published in our country, have been reprinted on the continent, or even in England. Messrs. Stuart and Gibbs, and one or two others, have done, and are now doing much, to excite a spirit of investigation, in oriental literature; but, with such a paucity of books as the American libraries present, their progress has been very much retarded. A student without books, is like an artist without tools. He cannot, with his sledge and dividers, transform a block into an Apollo; but give him the necessary implements, and he will animate the marble with every passion which ever agitated the heart of man, or the gods of heathen mythology.

The same liberality is manifested towards the students, in permitting them to take books from the library. They present, to some one of the professors, a number of papers, with their names written on them, under which he writes his own. Above these they write the title of the book which they want, and send it to the library. After the library is closed, the book is found, and the next day it is sent for. In this manner, if you desire, you may have fifty, or even a hundred, volumes out at a time, the paper being retained as a pledge until the work is returned. In those of the United States, no student, as far as my knowledge extends, is permitted to take more than three books at a time, and is rarely allowed to consult books in the library. The shackles of literary custom still reign in our country with a despotic sway, unequalled in their power by any thing I have seen in Europe, excepting those which religious superstition has thrown over the mind. Until they are broken; until our libraries are increased tenfold; until our professors feel the stimulus of rivalry, we may look in vain for such lights of science, as are seen in every day's ride in this country, that shed such splendour not only over Germany, but do much towards dispelling the darkness of distant lands.

A traveller in Germany finds it difficult to proceed a day's journey, in any direction north of the Mayne, without discovering something to remind him, in the small cities through which he passes, that intellectual cultivation is an object of great importance to the respective governments. In entering Germany from Stras-

burg, and travelling a few miles north, he arrives at Carlsruhe, where a library of seventy thousand volumes unfolds its treasures. A few hours ride brings him to Heidelberg, where he discovers another of fifty thousand. After proceeding about thirty miles, he enters Darmstadt, where he beholds a third, containing eighty-five thousand; at Mayence, another of ninety thousand; and in the commercial city of Frankfort, still another of one hundred thousand volumes, evinces the noble spirit which has animated the enlightened merchants of that city. As he leaves the latter town for Göttingen, he stops at Giessen, not far from thirty miles, and in this small university he is surprised to find a collection of only twenty thousand volumes; but he soon learns that at Marburg, twenty miles farther, is another of fifty-five thousand; and at Cassel, sixty miles from Marburg, a third, of from ninety to one hundred thousand volumes, adorns the capital of Hesse. On arriving at Göttingen, the next day in time to dine, he beholds with astonishment, three hundred thousand volumes, all collected within less than a century. Making this a central point, and proceeding north about forty miles, he enters Wolfenbuttel, a small town of less than seven thousand inhabitants, and learns with no little pleasure, that the government of Brunswick has enriched it with a library of two hundred thousand volumes. Advancing still north, to Hamburg, he is delighted in visiting the commercial and city libraries, of twenty-five and eighty thousand volumes, to discover that this mercantile city has displayed the same love of literature as Frankfort. South-east of Göttingen, at the distance of eighty miles, he arrives at Weimar, where a library of one hundred and ten thousand, and at Jena, ten miles farther, another of thirty thousand volumes, proclaim the princely spirit of the Dukes of this little state. Leipzig is but a short ride from the last mentioned city. Here he observes with equal pleasure, two libraries containing one hundred thousand; at Halle, in Prussia, only twenty-five miles distant, one of fifty thousand; and at Dresden, the capital of Saxony, a third, of two hundred and forty thousand volumes. Proceeding to Berlin, he enters the library of the university, containing one hundred and eighty thousand volumes. The Königsburg library of fifty thousand; the large collection at Breslau, as well as those of many of the other cities,

of Prussia, all display the patronage of the government, as well as the love of literature which characterizes the Prussians.

Proceeding from Strasburg through Southern Germany, a similar prospect presents itself to his view. At Freyburg he finds a library of twenty thousand; at Tübingen another; at Stuttgard one of one hundred and sixteen thousand; at Würzburg, a fourth of thirty thousand; at Erlangen, one of forty thousand; at Landshut, one of one hundred thousand; and at Munich he discovers the largest in all Germany, and the third in the world, containing four hundred thousand volumes. On his arrival at Vienna, he finds that a similar spirit has influenced the Austrian government, if not of the present day, at least of a former time. There, in the four great libraries, the Imperial, the University, the Theresian, and the Medical Chirurgical, he discovers five hundred and ninety thousand volumes. Proceeding north, to complete the circuit of Germany, he is led to believe, on his arrival at Prague, that its library of one hundred thousand volumes will do something to dispel the ignorance which now covers Bohemia.

The thirty-one libraries above mentioned, contain more than three million three hundred thousand volumes, or averaging one hundred and seven thousand. The thirty-one largest libraries of the United States do not contain two hundred and fifty thousand volumes. Whence comes this great difference? whence is it that the little state of Hanover has collected a library in less than a century, not only larger, but probably ten times more valuable to the student, than all the public libraries of our country? We are accustomed to regard the Germans as a heavy-moulded race, as peculiarly physical in their character, because the ignorant peasantry, who have emigrated from this country to the United States, have remained equally ignorant in ours. But were the German classics to be found at our public institutions, which I very much doubt, Cambridge library being excepted, and could we read the language sufficiently to understand them, we should soon discover that the term physical was much more applicable to ourselves, than to them. In comparing Germany with even Italy or France, we shall find that the difference in this respect is very great between these countries, and very much in favour of the former. According to the Edinburgh Review, there is in France

one billiard room to one hundred volumes, and in Germany one to six thousand; a striking illustration of the comparative love of literature of the two nations. In Italy, the restraints which the Catholic religion has placed on the mind, by its *Index Expurgatorius*, have made their libraries very imperfect in all those works which relate to civil and religious liberty, and, in truth, in relation to those of most foreign languages, that were not written in defence of the Catholic religion. At Pisa, I searched in vain in the university library for works written in the German language. I could not discover even a volume of their classical authors on the shelves, and, on inquiry, ascertained that they did not belong to it. We have in our own country what is equivalent to such an index; the strong prejudice that so universally exists against the literature of other nations.

Whence comes this difference between Germany and other nations? It doubtless results, in a very considerable degree, from the impulse which the Protestant religion gave to the public mind in the northern part of this country. The efforts of Luther and Melancthon to improve the schools and gymnasia, as well as the spirit of investigation which they excited, has been felt from age to age, and the effect will, probably, continue to the end of time. But this does not satisfactorily account for the love of knowledge, and the intellectual fertility which prevail here. More progress has been made here in literature, during the last seventy-five years, than in any country, whatever, in the same space of time. There are now every year, more valuable new works issuing from its press, than from those of all continental Europe. Germany has become, literally, "la patrie de la pensée," in a manner which excites the astonishment of all who behold it. There must be a cause for this. What that is, I shall now endeavour to inform you.

The foundation of the university of Göttingen, and the rapid rise of that institution, both resulting almost exclusively, from the enlarged views and liberal heart of Münchhausen, attracted universal observation. The directors of the other universities, found it necessary to increase the *materiel* of literature, or see those institutions thrown into the shade. This they did, accordingly, though with an inferior spirit of liberality, to that of the Hanoverian minister. As a law exists in every state of Germany, that those,

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Germans receive, makes them fully sensible to the great advantages resulting from that universal knowledge, for which they are so conspicuous; while the rapid advancement which learning and science are making, require assiduous application and a continual perusal of new publications, to enable them to keep pace with the spirit of the age.

LETTER V.

Göttingen, Sept. 25, 1825.

I sent you a few days since a long letter dated from this city, in which I attempted to draw a slight picture of the university. You will there find much shade blended with the light, more probably than will be agreeable to your American optics. It will I fear appear faint to you, when you remember that it was drawn by one who has been for many years in love with the ideal he had formed of it, at the distance of four thousand miles. The moon presents to our eyes a picture of perfect beauty, but were we to approach it, we should no doubt discover a quantum suff of bogs, swamps and mire; and even a poet treading its dirty surface, would find it difficult to transform it into an "island of the blest." So I have found most of the objects, and not a few of the men of Europe. While an ocean rolled between them and myself, they presented a most brilliant picture to my eye, but when I came to see them in in the plain *déshabillé* of near inspection, they lost not a little of their splendour. But with all its duels and immorality, Göttingen is a magnificent institution. A stranger when looking at it, and recollecting what it has done during the last ninety years, (for it is younger than many persons who live within a hundred miles of it,) is compelled to acknowledge that it is one of the favourite abodes of genius, and worthy of being placed by the side of Oxford, Leyden and Leipzig, on the records of fame.

A few evenings since, I had an opportuity of witnessing a fête, to which, as our literary men fade so early, we have no parallel in our country. This was the congratulations offered by the students to professor Blumenbach, who has just finished the fiftieth year of his professorship, and the hundredth course of his lectures. The students arranged themselves in a procession walking two and two. They carried burning matches of about four feet in length, and marched through the principal streets of the city. A

band of music preceding them, played a number of the beautiful airs, for which this country is so famous, until they came in front of the professor's house, when as soon as the music ceased, they gave him three cheers. The professor was standing at the window, and although seventy-three years of age, thanked them with sufficient strength of voice, to be heard at the extremities of the line, which they answered by a second trio of cheers. They then proceeded beyond the walls of the city into a large meadow, and threw their flaming torches into a pile which they surrounded, singing a song of friendship, composed by a former member of the institution. As Blumenbach is a great favourite with the students, they all united in showing him this *burning* proof of their respect and love.

While marching through the streets, they were compelled to walk at a considerable distance apart, to avoid singeing each other. They thus compressed the Philistines to the side walks, and amused themselves by singeing them with their flaming weapons. The darkness of the night, the long rows of torches which they occasionally moved and swung, in as many directions as an ignis fatuus ever moved in; the merry strains of music pealed forth by the band, the shrieks of the servant girls, when in danger of being burned, (for they took great pleasure in making them prove the strength of their lungs,) together with the illuminated columns of smoke which rose above them, presented as odd a picture, as an oriental funeral. I could not help thinking that we on the other side of the ocean, would our professors only live long enough to furnish the opportunity, might devise a much more rational mode, and certainly a less smoking one, of showing our respect for a distinguished savant. I have been too long, however, at this university, to anticipate any thing from the students, which is not at least spiced with what the Germans call *Schwärmerey*, which as they use this word, means a compound of fancy and extravagance, or an approximation to quixotism.

I have been very much surprised to see the great longevity of the literati of Germany, when contrasted with the students of our country. Professor Streaumeyer is now delivering his hundredth and sixth course of lectures; Eichhorn, his hundred and first; and not a few of the other professors are enjoying vigorous health at

that period, when most of ours are in their grave. Heyne died at eighty-six, Kastner at eighty-one, Michaelis at seventy-four, Haller at seventy, Kant at eighty, Jacobi at seventy-six, and the poets Wieland and Klopstock at eighty-one, and at seventy-nine years of age. Goethe is now seventy-six, and many of the most distinguished professors of other universities are delivering their two or three courses of lectures, at a period of life, when in most countries, if one happens to live so long, he is laid on the shelf as having outlived his usefulness. This great longevity can not result from a want of application, for most of the persons here mentioned have published from twenty to eighty volumes, and more assiduous students the world has never seen. Our literati rarely compose more than half a dozen volumes, and even this number entitles them to be placed on the list of volumnious writers. With us, learned men are continually exercising; here they shut themselves in their studies, and through most of their lives pass from twelve to sixteen hours a day in making profound researches, and in writing their lectures. It is true, they do not eat meat breakfasts, but they eat meat with supper, and that just before retiring to rest. As their cookery is less healthy than ours, we have rather the advantage of them in this respect. The winter is not so severe as that of New-England, but it is colder than that of Virginia. The weather is less variable than with us, but there is much more moisture; which in a cold country is still more deleterious. It has often been remarked that painters lived to a longer period than any other class of men, and it has been explained by the peculiar tranquility of mind which those artists enjoy. This is not more applicable to them than to students; and yet those of the United States, as well as those of most other countries, die comparatively early. I know of but one cause, and that is far from being an adequate one. The stove is universal in the north of Germany. By this they have an equal temperature at all times, and are never subjected to the alternate freezing and thawing, from which we suffer so much during our coldest weather before our open fires. That many a constitution is more or less injured by the imperfect manner of warming our houses, no one can doubt. Were the Russian stoves universally adopted, we should unquestionably find fewer instances of our most valuable men, being cut down before

they had reached that period of life, when their faculties had attained their greatest vigour.

Blumenbach is one of the most distinguished professors of Germany, and has done as much as any one now living, to extend the reputation of this university. He maintains that reputation in physiology in Germany, which Cuvier has in France, and has been more instrumental than any other man, in exciting an interest in these studies. He has in fact given such an impulse to them, that he may be considered as the creator of this science in this country. In consequence of the enthusiasm which he has produced, many of his pupils devoted their lives to these pursuits, and are now holding very honourable places in the other universities. His lectures on natural history, osteology, physiology, comparative anatomy, &c. have always attracted young men from the remotest parts of Germany. His room is always filled, as he has been for a long period the most popular of all the professors.* His works have been made text books at many of the universities, and have been perused more than those of any other man in his department. He is now as enthusiastic as at any previous period of his life, and exhibits a boundless curiosity respecting new discoveries. Blumenbach has been principally instrumental in collecting the cabinet of natural history belonging to this institution; besides which he has a private one, consisting of the skulls of most of the nations and tribes of the world, which presents to the eye, almost every line of variety, from the retreating forehead of mere animalism, to the almost perpendicular one of genius. His work on this subject, *collectio craniorum divers gent* has given him a reputation throughout Europe; where very few names are as well known. In conversation he is most interesting, not only from his great learning, but from the youthful ardour with which he enters into every subject; and as the amiableness of his character is commensurate with his attainments, you feel a respect for his heart,

* Blumenbach illustrates all his theories by anecdotes. With these he keeps his pupils in a continual roar, making his theories and his facts humorously indelible by the power of association. So great is his popularity throughout Germany, that several deputations have arrived here from other universities, to congratulate him; bearing with them plate and other presents, among which are several medals, which have been struck off in his praise.

which is not surpassed by your admiration of his talents. In the evening his house is always open to his pupils, who are expected to visit him at pleasure, and they are welcomed by his family as well as by himself with so much cordiality, that they are often induced to avail themselves of this opportunity of enjoying his society.

Among the professors of this institution, there is none whose name is so well known in the United States as Eichhorn, the father. Though but little of a German on my arrival here, I had still perused more of his writings than those of any of the other Göttingen literati, and had found in them such research, and such new views of the subjects which he discusses, that although differing from him on many subjects, I had a greater desire to see him than almost any man in Germany. He had been to my eyes, for several years, one of the *Gibborim* in oriental literature, and at the prospect of meeting him my curiosity became intense. My imagination had drawn a splendid picture of his physical as well as mental being; what then was my surprise in being ushered into his presence, to see a small man, of only five feet six inches in height, rather corpulent, and not having any resemblance to the picture fancy had drawn. His face is fine, and in his youth he must have been a very handsome man, and as such he was doubtless regarded by the German mademoiselles, some fifty or sixty years since. His hair, which is very long, is as white as snow, and is thrown back, falling over his shoulders. His eye, notwithstanding his close application, is very prominent, not having sunk in its orbit, as is almost always the case, with such intense students as he has been. Though now seventy-three years old, he has much of the freshness of middle age in his face, but in his walk you discover the influence of time. He received me with great politeness, and in that open manner, which in a few minutes made me feel quite at my ease. According to his ideas of etiquette, it was improper to read the letter of introduction which I had handed him, in my presence; and begging me to excuse him a moment, he retired, that he might peruse it alone. Whether this was a part of the etiquette of Germany fifty years since, or whether it resulted from his peculiar feelings, I know not, but I have never seen it in any other instance. We talked about Charles X. Mr. Villele, French poli-

tics, the progress of liberty in Europe, and the Pope, on which topics he entered with a great deal of animation. I found him quite as liberal in politics, an admirer of our institutions, and believing with most of the liberals on the continent, that our example would exert not a little influence on the future happiness of Europe.

He has now almost finished the fifty-first year of his professorship, having been chosen when he was twenty-two years of age. He was first called to fill a professor's chair at Jena, where he remained until the death of Michaelis, when he was invited to this university. It is generally admitted by all who know him, that he has been one of the most illustrious examples of mental application ever known in Germany. One who has long known him, and whose knowledge of his habits is such as to leave no doubt of the truth of the statement, has informed me, that, during the last fifty-five years, he has been in the habit of studying sixteen hours a day. What an exhibition of the improvement of time! I could not look at him without feeling that he was almost without a parallel, as an example of assiduity. He seemed to me like a noble doric column, upon which time had beaten almost in vain. His manners are an union of the old and new school; the dignity of the one, with the ease and gracefulness of the other. There is a very unusual degree of frankness in his reception of you, united with a scrupulous observance of all those civilities, which prevent your wants by anticipating their gratification. His courtesy is not merely external, but flows at the same time from the heart, leaving on your mind the impression of a finished gentleman.

It is now forty-six years since he published his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, a work of immense research, unequalled by any within my knowledge in the English language. No one can read it without being astonished at the extent of his attainments at the early age of twenty-seven. Before him, many of the exegets of Germany had published historical views of the individual books of the Old Testament; but he was the first writer who presented a complete and connected history of the Canonical books, in relation to their collection, original form, history of the texts, and critical aids, with an analysis of each book. As he was the first to examine this subject, he entered the field with an ardour worthy of its im-

portance. Although those who succeeded him have, in some points, written better than he did, and corrected those errors which are always attendant on upon a new course of investigation, still in research and originality of arrangement, he has been equalled by none who have since written on the subject, unless De Wette should be excepted.* The historical part of his work is without a competitor, and will probably remain so for a long time to come. He feels as if very many of those writers who have followed him, had stolen from him; and, judging from those works which I have read, his opinion is not without foundation. Of all his writings, he considers his *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis* decidedly the most ingenious, and the most acute. His countrymen have not agreed with him in this opinion, and in the theological reviews it has been treated with not a little severity. Whether they do not understand it, as he maintains, or whether their criticisms are just, I am ignorant. He observed to me that when he first published his works, he was thought to be quite heterodox by his countrymen, but that many of his contemporaries had gone so far beyond him, that he was now comparatively orthodox. How much soever one may differ from him, and even lament that he has added the weight of his name and his immense learning to the side of scepticism, no one can converse with him without being convinced of the sincerity of his belief, and without feeling the greatest respect for his exhibition of so noble an example of industry, nor fail to remember his amiable and affectionate manners, without the greatest pleasure.

When he first appeared in the world of theological literature, he was hailed as a rising star of unusual brilliancy. His succeeding fame has not equalled the anticipations of his countrymen. This has been, in some measure, owing to the fact, that his contemporaries, with the aid which he has afforded them, have pushed their investigation farther than himself; as well as to that vice which so universally prevails in this country—the love of writing many book, of which "there is no end" in Germany, though few of

* De Wette has only published a Syllabus of his lectures. This work, which is a small volume, is regarded here as superior to every other which has appeared.

the authors will admit that "much learning is a weariness to the flesh."*

There is much literarary tradition afloat in the conversation of the students, and professors of the university, particularly in relation to the great men who have formerly filled the professors' chairs. Their various quarrels, disputes, and satirical effusions, are very current, and afford not a little amusement to the students of the present day. Among the professors, remarkable for their wit and satire, the great astronomers and mathematicians Kastner and Lichtenberg, are perhaps the most celebrated. They were called to Göttingen within a short time of each other, and during the many years they held their respective chairs, they made the literary circles of this town among the most humorous of Germany. It is very rare to behold a mathematician fond of humour, and still more so to find him possessing it himself. To see two such men, at the same time, in the same university, is one of those strange coincidences, which, from its variety, becomes a standard of comparison, when any thing remarkable occurs. Kastner's satire was directed at every thing, and every body. The professors of Göttingen were continually exposed to his fire, few, if any of them, being spared. Among these, Schlözen, the professor of history and statistics, was particularly offensive to him. When Schlözer received his patent of nobility, Kastner wrote the following;

Den Adelsbrief des Herren den wir meinen,
Schreib Mann auf einer todten Eselshaut;
So hat auf dem Ruin des einen
Der andere oft sein Glück gebaut.

* His principal theological works are, Allgemeine Bibliothek d. biblischen Literatur, 10 vols. His Urgeschichte Einl. u. anm. von J. Ph. Gabler, 2 vols. Einleitung ins A. Test. 5 vols. Einleitung in die Apocryph. Schriften, 1 vol. Eenleitung ins N. Test. 3 vols. Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenl. Literatur, 9 vols. Die Hebraischen Propheten, 3 vols. and his Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John. Besides these he has published a Historical view of the French Revolution, 2 vols. History of the World, first and second part, 6 vols. History of Literature, 2 vols. History of Literature from its origin to the present time, if I recollect right, in 12 vols. General history of the cultivation and literature of modern Europe, 2 vols.; besides many smaller works in single volumes. Most of the works above mentioned are in octavo. A German Octavo usually contains from five to seven hundred pages. This every one must acknowledge, is an illustrious proof of industry, and love of research.

Kastner, hearing of Schlözer's marriage to a young lady who had been his pupil, made the following impromptu:

Der grösseste von Deutschland's Pädagogen
Hat weiter nichts als seine Frau erzogen;
Und hätte Sie durch ihn Verstand bekommen,
So hatte Sie ihn nicht genommen.

Lichtenberg is the author of the celebrated "Illustrations of Hogarth." In this work, he has exhibited a minuteness of analysis, a profound knowledge of the human character, and a fund of humour, little, if any, inferior to the celebrated artist. I know of few literary amusements equal to the perusal of his illustrations. When one reads them, he cannot avoid lamenting that Lichtenberg did not devote a part of his time to an exhibition of the ludicrous traits existing in the character of his countrymen. Had he done it, he would probably have been styled the Cervantes of Germany.

A few weeks since, one of the theological students walked out into a meadow near the town, for the purpose of committing to memory a sermon which he was to preach the next day. He is supposed to have been very intently occupied in this manner, and to have unconsciously fallen into the Leine, a small stream which runs through it, where he was drowned. At his funeral the students walked by Landsmannschaften; that to which he belonged being nearest the corpse. They wore the dress of their clans, and were under the direction of their respective presidents. After the coffin was placed in the grave, it was surrounded by the band of musicians belonging to the city, who played a beautifully mournful air. One of the theological students then addressed his companions, for a few minutes, alluding in a very pathetic manner to the peculiar circumstances of his death. After he had finished, they all united in singing a hymn around his grave, which was composed by one of the students, at a former period, for a similar occasion. The words were full of feeling, and the tune admirably adapted to them. It drew tears from many of the spectators, and rarely have I witnessed a more affecting spectacle.

When a student is buried, the band of the city always play; but at the death of a citizen, a horn is blown in the tower of one of the churches, until the ceremony of interment is finished. It was for-

merly the custom in Hanover for every village to maintain a number of boys, to sing a hymn at funerals, while the procession was moving from the house to the cemetery. The influence of the French destroyed this and many other poetical customs, which formerly existed here. It has now entirely ceased in Hanover, though it still prevails in some parts of Saxony.

The German universities, within the last few years, have been placed under the inspection of Supervisors, whose duty it is to see that nothing is said or done which may be dangerous to political orthodoxy. They were appointed in consequence of the supposed or real conspiracies, which are asserted to have existed among the students a few years since. Since the death of Kotzebue, this subject has been so often alluded to in the gazettes of the United States, that I will give you a slight sketch of some of those events, which have excited so much feeling in this country.

The German students, as well as the young men of every profession, who offered their services to break the yoke of Napoleon, felt something of that spirit of liberty, on their return from France, which was so visible in the French army after our revolutionary struggle. As they had all united in the cause of Germany, a national feeling animated their hearts; and many of them without doubt felt an ardent desire, to see all the states of this country united into one great empire. The promise of the German representatives, at the Congress of Vienna, that every German state should receive a constitution, reconciled them to a continuation of the present dynasties; and had this promise been complied with, most of them would have probably soon forgotten that the idea of such an union had ever entered their minds. The declaration of that Congress, that the navigation of the great streams, which water Germany, should be unrestrained, presented to the enterprising class of society a brilliant prospect; and it was hoped and anticipated, that, during the many years of peace which would probably result from the compact of the Holy Alliance, Germany would take an elevated rank in commerce and manufactures. The delays which the German monarchs evinced in giving their subjects the promised freedom, soon gave birth to the belief that they should never receive it; while the restrictions that were placed upon the navigation of the Rhine, the Weser, the Elbe, the Oder, and the

Vistula, excited universal disappointment and dissatisfaction, among the mass of the population. They were conscious of their strength; for they had been powerfully instrumental in crushing him who had been the terror of the world. Their sovereigns also dreaded lest, like the elephant wounded in battle, this power might be directed against themselves. At that time the press was less shackled than at the present day, and many of the young men published addresses to their countrymen, with remarks on the conduct of the different governments, which were fitted to keep alive public excitement, and to increase the fears of the respective sovereigns. Among the students various societies were formed, intended to revive the old Germanic feeling, and to these they gave names descriptive of their object. Among these, the societies of Teutonia and Arminia were the most distinguished. The latter derived its appellation from Hermann, in Latin Arminius, the celebrated German hero during the time of the old Romans. These societies, to which most of the students belonged, held secret meetings, and undoubtedly talked much on the subject of union and liberty. Songs in great numbers were written and sung in praise of Germany, and in the enthusiasm which was thus produced among the *Burschen*, all local feelings for the time were banished from their minds.

The students of the university of Jena, with the permission of the Grand Duke of Weimar, sent an invitation to the Protestant *Burschen* of the other institutions, to assemble at Eisenach on the 18th of October, 1817; in order to celebrate the anniversary of the Reformation, and of the battle of Leipzig. The inhabitants of that city opened their houses to them, and on the evening of the 17th, nearly five hundred students, representing twelve of the principal universities of Germany, were there assembled. On the 18th, at six o'clock in the morning, they repaired to the hill of Wartburg, where they sung, soon after their arrival, one of the hymns beginning, "*Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*"—"A strong citadel is our God." One of the students, who had distinguished himself in the War of Freedom, then addressed them, and after another hymn had been sung by all the students, Professor Fries made a second address. A third hymn, commencing with the words, "The Lord bless us," terminated the ceremony. Having

descended to the town, they assembled in one of the public squares, where they were addressed by Professor Oken. At the public dinner which followed, the memory of Martin Luther, the Duke of Saxe Weimar, &c, were toasted, with all that ardour which might have been anticipated from such an assembly. In the evening, they lighted their torches, which they threw into a heap, and then assembling around it, sung those songs which are so popular in the German universities. After many of the students had returned to their temporary residences, some of those who remained, threw a few of those books which were most obnoxious to them into the flames, and about midnight they repaired to their lodgings in the city. On the 19th, they again assembled, and were addressed by several of the students, who recommended to them to abolish the Landsmannschaften, and form a general union. These harangues produced such an effect, that they consented to it without hesitation; and had the governments not taken the alarm, the spirit of duelling would have been banished from the universities.

Soon after this event, letters appeared in the gazettes of Germany, representing this assembly as a collection of conspirators who were designing to overthrow the monarchs of Germany. Strictures were also published, giving a false colouring to the intentions of the students, which greatly alarmed the governments. A tribunal was established in the name of the German states, and Professor Fries, and many others, were arraigned before it, and after a minute examination, it was ascertained that nothing treasonable had been discovered. Though all who had been suspected of disloyalty were publicly acquitted, the assembly of Wartburg furnished the writers opposed to liberty with a powerful argument to increase the fears of the easily alarmed monarchs of this country.

Some time before this event, Kotzebue, the spy of the emperor Alexander, as the Germans call him, had returned from Russia. He had been sent here, as is universally believed, to observe minutely the progress of democratical opinions in this country, and to make his report to the cabinet of Petersburg. He resided at Manheim, where he published a magazine filled with ridicule and satire against those sentiments, which he declared to be rapidly gaining ground. The talent which he displayed in presenting the

"sovereign people" in a ridiculous light, excited universal hatred against him among the young men of Germany. This was felt most deeply by Sand, a theological student of Jena, who regarded Kotzebue as the greatest obstacle to the liberty of his country. Sand, as I was informed by a German gentleman, who was well acquainted with him at Jena, was of reserved temperament, secluding himself from the society of most of his fellow students, and passing much of his time in reading the Bible. His feelings were very ardent, and he showed an enthusiasm for the cause of freedom, rarely witnessed even among the young Germans. He was a native of Bavaria, a Catholic by education, and he intended at one period to become a Missionary to the Heathen. The satire which Kotzebue poured forth against the spirit visible in the universities, roused his indignation, and believing as he afterwards confessed, that "the end sanctions the means," he resolved to offer up himself, to secure, as he madly hoped, the liberty of Germany. Fully impressed with the idea that it would never enjoy freedom so long as Kotzebue lived, he proceeded to Manheim, and on the 9th of March, 1819, went to the house of the former. He was conducted by a servant to the parlour, into which Kotzebue soon entered, and after a short conversation he drew his dagger, and thrust it through the heart of this enemy of German freedom. He then stabbed himself, but the wound being slight, he descended the stairs, and handed the servant a paper on which was superscribed, "The thrust of death for Augustus de Kotzebue." Having reached the street, he shouted "Long live my German Fatherland," and kneeling down, cried "I thank thee God for this victory," and then thrust his dagger into his breast. His wounds were immediately examined, and found not to be mortal. After several months of suffering, he partially recovered his health, and from that time to his execution, was constantly occupied with the perusal of his Bible. His trial caused a universal interest throughout this country, almost every individual wishing that he might be spared. The young ladies* felt enthusiastic sympathy

* A friend of mine residing in Hanover visited Manheim soon after the death of Sand. As time enough had not then elapsed for flowers to grow over his grave, a number of female friends requested him to bring them, on his return, some dirt from the grave of Sand, that they might preserve it as a relic of one who had died for his country.

for him, and many of them who had never seen him, fell in love with the *beau ideal* which their fancies had drawn of the murderer. But the sympathies of the nation could not save him, and on the fifth of May, 1820, he was beheaded, and soon after buried in the same cemetery, in which Kotzebue had been interred a few months before.*

The murder of Kotzebue furnished the governments with an admirable pretext for declaring that a conspiracy existed in the universities of Germany. Professors and students were arraigned before the tribunals, and the *Central Untersuchungs Commission*, which had been established some time before, was constantly occupied. Many on whom suspicion rested, were arraigned before it, and one Professor after another was displaced. Many of the students were imprisoned, and at the subsequent trials in Prussia, not a small number were sent to the penitentiaries; some for life, and others from two to ten years. The governments were very glad of an opportunity of exhibiting their power, in order to strike terror into the minds of the students. They pretended that these conspiracies existed all over Germany, and that the monarchs and the existing governments were in danger of being overthrown. The censorship was made much more severe; the gymnastic establishments connected with the universities, which were believed to be one of the principal sources of this spirit of disorganisation, were abolished; and the societies among the students were crushed by the strong arm of power. The number of the sufferers and the severity of their punishment, proved a most effectual lesson to those who had escaped, and the feeling which had been seen at the Wartburg festival, entirely disappeared. Instead of talking about their Fatherland, union, and liberty, the students found barely time enough to reorganise their Landsmannschaften, and fight the duels which according to their ideas, necessarily grew out of these institutions. On the subject of politics, not a mouth whispered, unless in the confidence of intimacy; and a traveller passing at that time through Germany, might not have discovered that a single individual was dissatisfied with the governments. The

* This account of the Wartburg festival, and of the murder of Kotzebue, is derived from the publications of the day, and from conversation with German gentlemen.

Germans now speak more openly on the subject, and many of them do not hesitate to say, that the young men who were imprisoned, suffered most unjustly; that the pretended conspiracy never existed; and that the governments only availed themselves of this pretence to diminish the liberties of the people. They dreaded, say they, to have their conduct pass the scrutiny of the press, or of conversation; and under a pretext of danger, they have seized this occasion to fetter our minds, and throw us back into the despotism of the last century.

To us, such accusations would appear of course unfounded, but in countries where the courts are held in secret, as they are in most of those of Germany, and where the judges can be removed at the nod of the monarch, I can easily believe that there is not a little foundation for these assertions. Even those most friendly to the governments admit that great severity has been exercised, although they believe there was some just cause for alarm.

Since this letter was written, many investigations have been held relating to the conduct of the young men engaged in this conspiracy. While I was in Berlin, or soon after leaving that city, many of the students were condemned to two, four, and even ten years confinement in the fortresses of Prussia. In the *Journal des Debats*, there is a letter dated Berlin, 15th March, 1827, which gives a particular account of the proceedings in the superior court of Silesia, held at Breslau, the capital of that province. The writer states, that this tribunal has just pronounced judgment upon the cases of the professors and students which had come under its cognizance. He says: "One of them is condemned to imprisonment in a fortress for twelve years, and declared incapable of holding any office under the government: a professor is deprived of his place, declared incapable of holding it again, and condemned to eleven years imprisonment, because he did not reveal the existence of such a society, (a secret society among the students I suppose,) though he was not even suspected of having taken a part in it. Three others were deposed, declared incapable of holding their places, and condemned to fifteen years imprisonment. Another was deposed and condemned as a special favour, *par indulgence*, to only thirteen years imprisonment. Many others are condemned to still longer imprisonment." The

rector of the university published this decision, to prevent the students from taking part in secret assemblies or associations, and to frighten them by the aspect of a punishment which, if guilty, they could not escape. These societies to which the Silesian court refers ceased to exist long since, and at this late day, many years after their abolition, the students are condemned. The confinement preceding their trial has occupied not a small part of their lives, and when the thirteen or fifteen years are ended, they will be incapacitated by their long seclusion from society, to exert any influence on their countrymen, and perhaps even to gain their bread. In Leipzig I saw a young man looking through the grate of his prison, and was informed by a friend that he was one of the students belonging to a secret society, and that he had been confined between four and five years waiting for his trial. When the Germans complain of these acts of severity, any one who looks at the delay of judicial proceedings, must feel that their rights are trampled upon, and that they have abundant reason to contend that there was no foundation for the alarm, professedly felt a few years since, by the governments of this country. This severity was not confined to the north of Germany. At the time when this subject first fixed the attention of the German monarchs, many young Swiss were residing in Vienna, as instructers in the families of that city. They were accused of belonging to the band of conspirators, were imprisoned, and after ten months were declared innocent of the charges brought against them. While looking at such an exhibition of tyranny, may my heart always feel grateful to God for giving me my birth in the land of freedom.

Germany is literally swarming with noblemen, who, with few exceptions, are in very moderate circumstances. Not a small number of them are poor, and almost all of them, are proud in proportion to their poverty. Hanover, has probably as great a number for its population, as any of the German states. There is here no primogeniture, the title of the father descending to every one of the sons, and this is not unfrequently their only inheritance. The noblemen are divided into two classes, the *high* and the *low*. The first class, included formerly, the descendants of those families, who under the Emperors, had the right of sitting at the national Diets, as well as all the hereditary princes and counts of the

empire. They are still regarded as decidedly superior to the other class of the noblility, whose diplomas are of more recent date, notwithstanding many of them take precedence of the former, when they are elevated to the ministry, or arrive at the highest rank in the army. The lower class includes those who have derived their diplomas, not from the emperor, but from the monarchs of the individual states. As the German monarchs have never been very rich, they have not been able to reward their subjects with wealth; and as a diploma of nobility answered as well, they have substituted it for more substantial favours. Hence have arisen the swarms of noblemen that are met with in the university, in the army, and at every public assembly. As this country has been for centuries the theatre of war, many of the little states of which it was composed, have changed masters, and the ruling families have been supplanted. As the descendants of those who have been rulers at a former period, retain their titles, or receive new ones, you find princes here as numerous as lords in England. Many of them are excessively poor, and live on the little pittance, which during the storm of war, has been saved from the wreck of their fortunes. Accustomed as we are, when looking at England, to associate great splendour with the idea of nobility, I was not a little surprised to hear the other day, that a young German prince who dines at the same *table d' hôte* with myself, had a fortune of six hundred dollars per annum, an income inferior to many of our tailors and shoemakers.

The nobility are divided into four classes: Fürst, or prince; second, Graf, or Count; third, Frey Herr, or Baron; fourth, Herr von. This last title corresponds with the French *de;* for example, Monsieur *de* Chateaubriand, Monsieur *de* Villele. This is the lowest order of pure blood, and is the first stepping stone from plebeianism upwards. Before the French Revolution, these orders were quite distinct, rarely intermarrying with each other, unless fortune balanced the want of birth, and never with the *Bürger*, or those whose blood was common. That event, has in some measure, broken down these contemptible distinctions, though it would require an intercourse of a century with the French Republicans to eradicate them entirely from Germany. After the French were driven out of this country, the nobles again took courage, in the

hope of acquiring their former superiority. Fortunately for them, the monarchs of Germany, when they found themselves at Paris, at the head of an army of plebeians, became alarmed at the victories they had gained, by the aid of such a dangerous body; and dreading, lest the people should eventually become sovereign, they determined to renew these distinctions. Accordingly, all lucrative offices were given to the nobility, as the commoners who had previously held them, deceased and at the present time they are principally filled by this class. This furnishes a subsistence to many poor fellows, who are too proud to labour, and enables them to keep up a semblance of their former distinction. The favourite stations of this class are the offices in the army, most of which are filled by them. The army, in Germany, takes the precedence of every thing else, not only in the eyes of the governments, but of many of the governed, as the officers are always treated with the most marked respect by the duke, elector, or king, whom they serve. They know very well, that the bayonets of the soldiers are their only defence, and they are, of course, very careful to make them their friends. The table of the sovereign is the touchstone of rank, in the little states of this country, and all those who are admitted to it, are considered as belonging to a superior order. Of this number are the nobles and all the officers of the army, even to the second lieutenants, although the pay of many of them does not equal three hundred dollars per annum. In Hanover, professors and clergymen, unless they have an honourable title, do not enjoy this privilege, and are esteemed at court, as decidedly inferior to those who hold these humble stations in the army. Commoners who exhibit that superiority of mind, which makes them necessary to government, are elevated, in most of the German states, to distinguished offices; but when this is the case, a diploma of nobility is usually given them, to prevent the two classes from approximating too near each other. In addition to this, the nobles, in some of the German states, are freed from many of those taxes, which the citizens and peasants find very burdensome. The old distinctions are thus gaining ground, and the public are beginning to treat them with much more respect than during their submission to the French government. Previously to the arrival of their conquerors,

the nobles never married with the people. During their subjection, the word *Egalitè*, had no little influence here, as well as in France, and such intermarriages were not very unfrequent. At the present time they are very rare.

This distinction affords them not only positive advantages, but those also which are ideal. Before the republicans crossed the Rhine, the daughters of the nobility were always addressed with the title of *Fraülein* or miss; and those of the commoners with that of *Jungfer*, and sometimes, though more rarely, of *Jungfrau*, or miss. While they were here, the French prefix, *mademoiselle*, was extensively introduced, and the young ladies of noble birth, as well as others, received it without hesitation. This continued, at least in the western half of Germany, very much in vogue, until their conquerors were driven back beyond the Rhine. Their hatred towards the French, was such, that they resolved to obliterate all French words from the German language. This flame of patriotism burned not merely in the hearts of the soldiers, it literally blazed in those of many of the ladies of Hanover. The mothers of Lüneburg assembled, and forming themselves into a species of anti-French society, resolved, I believe, unanimously, that their daughters should no longer be called by the odious name mademoiselle, but that they should be addressed by the genuine German prefix of *Fraülein*. A similar society was formed in several other cities, and the same resolution was passed. This French term was accordingly banished, never more to violate Hanoverian ground. More than one hundred thousand mademoiselles thus ceased almost in a moment to exist, and as many *Fraüleins* rose into being.* Their resolutions, however, were not sufficiently powerful to eradicate this foreign word. The recollection of the fine manners of the French, eventually reconciled them to its re-introduction; and mademoiselle is now very current with the citizens, though among the nobility, *Fraülein* reigns with an undisputed

* They were not satisfied with simply altering the prefix to the names of their daughters. They determined that they would revive the old German names of their ancestors. Accordingly, they gave to those that who were born about that time, very many names that had become nearly or quite obsolete. In the course of a few years, there were among the young misses, as many Huldas, Idas, Fuldas, Kunigundas, and Thusneldas, as in the time of old Hermann.

sway. A similar spirit of patriotism was displayed by some of the gentlemen. A society was formed, I think at Brunswick, which published a new dictionary, abolishing all the French words which during the last two centuries had been introduced into the German language. Even the technics of war, which have become the military terms of almost every country in Europe, were abolished, and new ones were coined. Custom, however, was too powerful, and notwithstanding the French were driven out of Germany, this part of their language still rules against all opposition.

There are in Hanover eleven Protestant convents, where young ladies may retire who have survived the bloom of youth, and have arrived at single blessedness, and may pass down the stream of time, in each other's society, in uninterrupted tranquillity. Each of these institutions is under the direction of an elderly lady, corresponding, in some degree, with the abbess of Catholic convents. The young ladies receive annually from two to three hundred rix dollars, with which they are enabled to live genteelly. The restraints of the institution are not severe. They receive visits from their friends, usually in the presence of the governess, though that is not required, or has been for a short time only. It is not necessary to reside here constantly; a few weeks of each year being sufficient to entitle them to the pension. Some of them accordingly pass most of their time with their friends, and whenever they are thrown out upon the world by the dissolution of their families, they have a refuge, to which they can retire, without experiencing those mortifications which are so frequently attendant upon adversity. These asylums are under the direction of government, to which parents, wishing to procure such places for their children, apply. It requires some influence at court to obtain them, as the number of applicants is much greater than that of vacancies. Parents not unfrequently solicit them while the children are quite young, and some of them receive the promise of them even from the cradle, although, I believe, they do not enjoy the emolument until they approach the shady side of twenty, unless they reside in the convent at least a part of the time. As they receive visits at these institutions without great restrictions, it sometimes occurs, that a visiter is wounded, and can find no peace, until the fair mademoiselle has blessed him with her hand: for love, who ususally makes

"the camp, the court, and the grove," his favourite haunts, sometimes pays a flying visit to these convents, to prove to the world his omnipotence. Whenever a lady is thus addressed, she has the consolation of knowing that her lover is actuated by the purest affection, as her limited pension is taken from her as soon as she enters into the "holy bands." Of the eleven convents of this description, now in Hanover, *nine* of them are for the daughters of the nobility; a striking evidence not only of the superiority which birth gives here, but also of the poverty of this class of society.

Hanover belongs to the third class of states, which form the German confederacy. Its population, according to Hassel's estimate for 1822, is 1,380,000. For the wars of the alliance, it is bound to furnish 13,054 men, whenever they may be wanted. At the full assembly of the Diet it has four voices; in the other, but one.

The king of England, who is also king of Hanover, governs this kingdom through his brother the duke of Cambridge, who has borne since 1816 the title of governor-general of Hanover. Its parliament, which consists of one hundred and one members, meets every year at Hanover the capital. Of these, ten are clergymen, forty-nine are noblemen, and forty-two are members from the cities. The remainder are from East Friesland, which is the only province that has the privilege of sending peasants as their representatives. This parliament, which consists of but one chamber, has little to do besides regulating the taxes, making laws, &c. The members are so much under the influence of the government, that this body presents to the nation only the semblance of liberty. In truth, very many of the inhabitants would willingly dispense with it. Its doors are always closed, and nothing is known of the debates except what government chooses to publish. However disposed the king might be to put it on the footing of the English Parliament, it could not be done without exciting the jealousy of most of the other German states, especially Prussia and Austria, whose governments are so diametrically opposed to the progress of political light, that they would probably resort to extremities, rather than see a country west of the Rhine enjoying a constitution like that of England. As the English nation are beginning to feel that they have spent money enough in their Quixotic attempts to give liberty to the con-

tinent, they would be very unwilling to squander their resources in the vain effort of opposing two such powers as Prussia and Austria on foreign ground. If the king, as some of his admirers believe, is desirous of placing his Hanoverian on the same footing as his English subjects, he has the mortification of being compelled to submit to the powers that be. The liberty of the press, the glory of England, and the birthright of every Briton, is here unknown. No political works that contain sentiments dear to the heart of man are here printed, until the censor has blotted out every liberal idea, all that convey the doctrine of equal rights. Politics are rarely alluded to in a mixed circle; and when the political condition of distant countries is canvassed, all those which awaken a comparison, are scrupulously avoided. Political discussion, so far as it exists in conversation, unless in strictly private circles, is made up of abstract maxims, so refined and purified from every terrestrial quality, as to seem applicable to another sphere, to spirits, rather than to those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. The lion and the unicorn which attract your attention to every public edifice, reminds you of liberty; but they crouch here before the Prussian eagle and the double-headed vulture of Austria. Through their influence, the Hanoverian government, soon after the assassination of Kotzebue, was compelled to abolish all the political societies in the university, and to appoint a supervisor to reside at Göttingen, who should watch over the professors as well as the students, and take care that no mouth should utter in public, words that would be dangerous to the rule of despotism. Through their influence also the liberty of the press in Germany has entirely been strangled, without leaving the hope that it will ever arise from the profound grave where tyranny has interred it.

The revenue of Hanover amounts to between eleven and twelve millions of guldens, half of which comes from the domains belonging to the state. The private domains of the monarch are also very large, yielding him, as, I have been informed several millions of guldens. Most of this sum he spends in England, and hence arises the desire so universal in this country, of having a resident monarch like the other states of Germany. This country derives in fact no advantage from her union with England, for in every English war she must necessarily be a sufferer. By the union with

that country, she is not bound to engage in her wars, nor is England in those of Hanover; still the monarchs whose territories are near this state, need no other pretext in a war with the former country for taking possession of Hanover, than that it is subjected to the same king. Its government is now not only under the necessity of being dictated to by the Alliance at Frankfort, but is also compelled to consult the will of a monarch who resides at a distance; and whenever they clash one of the parties must be disobeyed. The king is far from being unpopular. When he visited this country a few years since, he was received with as much enthusiasm, as one could have expected from a German population, who beheld their monarch for the first time. The administration of the government has been equitable, and the people have enjoyed as much liberty as they could expect, belonging as they do to an Alliance, where the influence of such governments as Austria and Prussia is predominant. Were the king to spend the income he receives from his domains here, and not in England, he would probably be more beloved than most of the German monarchs.

The three large rivers, the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, water this country, and furnish it with great facilities for commerce. It has not, however, availed itself of them to the extent one would have anticipated. Hamburg and Bremen monopolize most of the trade, and from those cities most of the exports are sent. Emden is the only sea-port of Hanover of any magnitude. Its population amounts to only 10,000, and not more than three hundred vessels enter and leave its harbour yearly. This city is so far removed from the heart of the country, that most of the produce, which would otherwise be shipped from that city, now goes to Hamburg or Bremen.

LETTER VI.

BERLIN, Nov. 1, 1815.

As * * * * my fellow traveller had a very extensive acquaintance among the students, they all assembled at my rooms, (for we had agreed to start from thence,) to bid him adieu. The custom of kissing your friends on your departure, as well as on your return, is as universal among the gentlemen of this country, as among the ladies of the United States. The *modus operandi*, is similar to that of France, excepting that here they salute the lips, as well as each cheek. Having been in Göttingen but a few months, it was not expected that I should comform to the custom, which usually exists only among friends. I was consequently exempted from playing my part, and had an opportunity of witnessing the adroitness of my friend, in saluting the cheeks of a dozen or more of the students. To take farewell in this manner of the younger members in the circle was not a very difficult task, but as most of the *Burschen* adorn their upper lip as soon as possible with mustaches, it required not a little address to find the way to the cheeks of some of the oldest; especially as this ornament was in two or three instances several inches in length, standing out with a stiff curl, like a shield to defend it against every attack. He accomplished it, however, with great ease, encountering the most formidable mustaches without the least embarrassment. This custom so singular to us, exists in every country I have yet visited, and even in Rome the very seat of his Holiness, I was under the necessity of kissing one of the clergy myself. There was not a little difficulty in doing it (for he took me by surprise,) as his cheeks were so much depressed, as to form two considerable cavities, and his nose was exceedingly large. He very unexpectedly threw his arms around my neck, and drawing me close to him, saluted one of my cheeks. As he still held on, there was not a little difficulty in getting the other side of his nose, unaccustomed

as I was to this exercise, this being in truth my debut. Eventually I succeeded in doubling this most important promontory of his face, though with not a little awkwardness. For this there was fortunately no necessity to make an apology, as he was so near sighted as to be almost blind, and probably did not perceive my embarrassment. This custom is not confined to the higher classes. While at Messina, twenty months since, I saw two beggars salute each other in the same manner. Unintimidated by the rags which hung from their bodies, or the dirt which spotted their cheeks, they advanced from the opposite sides of the street to the centre, when they kissed each other with the same readiness, that two of those animals which the Jews refuse to eat, would smell of each other.'s snouts, after partaking of a spare breakfast

The Germans, to my surprise, do not hesitate to kiss the lips, a custom which in some countries of the continent, and particularly in France, is considered the extreme of indelicacy. To a French lady no greater insult could be offered, even by an intimate acquaintance, than to touch her lips, though to a salute of the cheek she will submit without hesitation. They universally embrace, as they call it; that is, throw their arms around each other, mutually saluting the cheeks. The Christmas and new year's gifts of *bons bons*, which gentlemen carry with them when they call to congratulate their female acquaintance, entitle them to a salutation of the cheeks of all those mademoiselles, for whom these presents are destined. In a country where the restraints imposed upon young females are so great, that they are not permitted to walk with a gentleman, unless some one of the family, or a married lady is present, such a custom is to us surprising.

I felt not a little reluctance at leaving Göttingen. even after my short residence of three months in that city. There is something in the recollections of a spot which was your first abode in a new country, much more interesting than those of any subsequent residence. Naples, the first city in which I resided in Italy, is much more deeply impressed upon my memory, than even Rome, with all its wonderful monuments of ancient and modern art. In such a city every thing is new, and this novelty gives it a double charm. The same objects seen elsewhere, cease to excite surprise, and after a short time to attract attention. Though Göttingen is very

limited in its population, few cities of Europe present more novelty to the eye of a stranger. After a two or three year's ramble, one becomes satisfied with looking at palaces, churches, bridges and other monuments of art; for his recollection, especially if he has been in Italy, will bring to his eye objects of a much superior character. But at a German university every thing is new. Its arrangement, the professors, its government, the language, the students, all differ from every thing he has seen or heard before, and in the novelty which they offer, he derives continued enjoyment. I felt also very unwilling to exchange my acquaintances here for new ones, and above all to part with a friend to whom I had become strongly attached; whose literary attainments, the brilliancy of whose mind, and the minute observation that he has made of the various countries of Europe, in which he has resided, make him one of the most interesting of companions.

My rambles and rides in the vicinity, which had made me familiar with the surrounding country, and particularly with the feudal castles, which appear at various distances, had thrown an additional charm around my residence at Göttingen.

There are few terrestrial feelings more fruitful of enjoyment than those experienced by an American, when roaming over these ruins, or standing on one of these feudal towers, which still rise, as if to awaken in his mind the recollections of their ancient glory. Here his imagination becomes all activity, and the crumbling and fallen walls which surround him, transport him to a period which has long since passed away. Amid such scenes, his imagination had continually roamed in his boyhood, until they became, as it were, the home of his heart. Several of these buildings still stand near Göttingen, in all the beauty of decay, and crown the hills on which they rest with a charm which is indescribable. Why is this feeling always awakened by a feudal ruin, while our admiration of a palace like Versailles, or Caserta, with the history of which we are familiar, is mingled with disgust at the ostentatious profusion of the monarchs who erected them? The ages of romance, as we usually term those which preceded and followed the Crusades, were not those in which we should wish to have lived. The knights of those days resembled, in the treatment of their vassals, oriental despots rather than true heroes. They were

so destitute of good faith, that none of them felt secure in a neighbouring castle, until the honour of the occupant was pledged with the overflowing cup. Even the ladies would listen to the songs of a Troubadour, which no lady of the nineteenth century could hear without a blush. This period was one of violence, of treason, of grossness; and yet it is the age towards which the mind looks with delight, and the very words that convey its idea have acquired a poetic charm, which those descriptive of Roman or Grecian grandeur never awaken. An edifice, partly finished, gives rise to no emotions which the mind loves to indulge. A ruined church, or capital, excites only the desire of their removal, and the erection of new ones in their place; but a castle, where "time hath placed his hand, but broke his scythe," has a magic in it, which rivets the eye, calls off every thought from the present, and gives wings to the imagination. No analysis can divest one, of the feelings which these edifices awaken; no love of refinement and of civilization can destroy their charm. Memory here assumes her ascendancy, and will not yield to the influence of the judgment. In defiance of all your reasoning, your heart is most powerfully impressed, and you leave a spot, which the recollections of your boyhood have consecrated, with the greatest reluctance. Deeply do I regret that you can not enjoy these feelings; for I would climb many a tower and battlement for you, could you share the solemn pleasure I have so often felt in these scenes of ancient gallantry and barbarism.

We left Göttingen at one P.M., and proceeded to Heiligenstadt. A few miles before entering it, we were stopped at the Prussian custom-house, and perhaps for the fiftieth time in two years, my trunk was examined. This, however, was the first time since leaving Cologne, a striking proof of the liberality of the German governments, when contrasted with those of some other countries of Europe. The next morning we were in the carriage, at an early hour, rolling on towards Magdeburg. At the distance of twenty-two miles, we entered Nordhausen, containing nine or ten thousand inhabitants, which, as it was remarkable only for its manufactures of brandy and oil, we did not stop to examine. We entered the Harz mountains at three, P.M., and before evening beheld several sunset prospects, worthy of the pencil of Claude Lorrain.

These mountains are less than seventy miles in length, and from eighteen to twenty-eight in breadth. They are of moderate elevation, the Brocken, the highest summit, being only 3,500 feet in altitude. The Bruchberg, the Wormberg, and the Ackermanns höhe, the next highest peaks, vary from twenty-six to twenty-eight hundred feet. They are well-wooded with the oak, pine, birch, and beach, and are rich in metals, which furnish a considerable sum yearly to the revenue of Hanover. It is principally derived from the mines of silver, lead, copper, iron, arsenic, zinc, &c. which abound in that part of the Harz belonging to this kingdom. The produce, from these mountains to Hanover, in 1812, according to Hassell,* yielded 3,059,649 guldens. They are not thickly populated, containing on a surface of 1,300 square miles, only 56,000 inhabitants, or forty-three to a square mile. More than two-thirds of the inhabitants belong to Hanover, and, with few exceptions, are miners.

This region is the favourite ramble of the Göttingen students, and not to have seen the Harz, implies, according to them, a defect in education, which can only be remedied by a fortnight's ramble through them. As I have not seen the most interesting part of them, I can only refer you to those who have for a description. Like the Highlands of Scotland, they are the land of fable and legend, and here the eye has seen sights, the account of which can be believed only by a credulity that is boundless. Here, before, and at the time of Cotton Mather, was the metropolis of witchcraft, and on these mountains on the night of the thirtieth of April, the witches, with the fallen spirits, held a great festival, a witch demoniac carousal. The mountaineers, and a very many of the peasantry, even at a distance from these mountains, believe at the present time that they still keep their grand festival, and on that night they make a pentagram on the threshold of their doors, to prevent his satanic majesty, or any of his imps, from entering their houses. To this custom Faust conforms, and to

* The produce consisted in gold, 6½ marks; silver, 34,238 marks; copper, 1,404 cwts; lead, 41,949 do.; iron, 121,828 do; zinc, 2,987 do.; litharge, 15,746½ do.; vitriol, 1286 do.; sulphur, 1,300 do.; salt, 329,055½ do.; 469,840 do. of stone coal; besides many other productions in small quantities.

the magical power of the pentagram, Mephistopheles confesses that he must submit.

> " Gesteh' ich's nur ! Dass ich hinausspaziere
> Verbietet mir ein kleines Hinderniss,
> Der Drudenfuss auf eurer Schwelle."

In this great work, Goethe has availed himself of this popular superstition, in drawing a wilder and more fanciful picture, than was ever created in the brain of a lunatic. To this scene Mephistopheles is conducting Faust, when they lose their way. After wandering through ravines and over summits, with nothing but the partially clouded disk of the new moon to enlighten them, Mephistopheles becomes quite discouraged ; but fortunately discovering an ignis fatuus, he calls it to him, and orders it to conduct him to the festival. To shorten the gloom of their walk, Faust, Mephistopheles, and the ignis fatuus, sing a song, exactly descriptive of a nightly ramble among mountains towards such a pandemonium, and probably the finest specimen of jack of the lantern poetry in existence. At a distance, they soon discover the grand assembly, towards which they hasten, when a scene opens upon the reader, unlike any thing else in the whole compass of literature. It is considered by the Germans unrivalled for its fancy, surpassing even the Midsummer's Night Dream. To my eye, Shakespeare has presented in that beautiful poem, as well as Milton in his equally beautiful Comus, more powerful exhibitions of creative genius. I am aware that in this picture of Goethe, there is often a direct allusion to German opinions and characters at the period when Faust was written, which, as yet, no commentator has explained. These, in a country, which is so ever varying as Germany, no foreigner can fully understand; to him much of the spirit will be imperceptible. But, with my imperfect knowledge of Germany and of the language, this scene produces a stronger effect on my mind than any picture I have ever seen in foreign poetry.

The public conveyances in Germany are much inferior to those of France. The *Schnell Wagen* (quick carriage) holds but six persons inside and two out, while the number of passengers is usually from a dozen to twenty. Those who are not in time to take their places in that conveyance, are packed into one or more

crazy shells of carriages, that do not resemble the former, more than a tender does a ship of the line. It is necessary also to send your trunks to the office many hours before you start, and they do not arrive until long after you, as they are sent on by a species of lumber wagon. The want of economy in this plan, is the reason why the expense of travelling here is so much greater than in France. The French diligence is drawn by six horses, and carries twenty passengers, besides the conducteur, and but one postillion is necessary. To convey twenty passengers in Prussia, you need the *Schnell Wagen*, with the conducteur and postillion, three carriages carrying four each, and the lumber wagon with the driver and a guard. The former carriage has four horses, the others two each, and the last four. To convey twenty persons here, the government must consequently, employ fourteen horses, a conducteur, one postilion, four drivers and a guard; while to convey the same number, in France, only six horses, a conducteur, and one postilion are necessary. That vehicle in France carries, besides the twenty travellers, several tons of merchandise, the transportation of which probably more than half supports a line of diligences, as they receive double or treble the ordinary price from the great velocity with which they move. It is astonishing, that a government like that of Prussia, so deficient in pecuniary resources, should not adopt this improvement in travelling, and thus for ever put a stop to this useless expenditure.

The carriages in which we rode over the Harz, (we were so unfortunate as not to procure places in the *Schnell Wagen* were not more impervious to air than a colander. In that elevated region, even at this early season of the year, the cold was intense. Though the moon was shedding a silvery effulgence over the lakes, precipices, and ravines around us, the beauty of the scene was lost upon me. Had it been the night of the thirtieth of April, and had we seen all the witches and imps that ever inhabited the fabulous world, they would hardly have attracted my eye. Only one thought occupied my mind, only one physical sensation was felt, that of the frigidity of this mountainous region. I do not recollect having suffered so much, at any time, as during this ride, and cannot now think of those mountains, with all their legends and fairy scenery, without shivering. Soon after the sun arose, the spires of Magde-

burg appeared in sight, rising above the extensive plain which surrounds it, presenting, in anticipation, to my mind, the pleasant realities which a fire and a good breakfast always afford the traveller who has been roaming in etherial regions.

Magdeburg, which is situated on the west bank of the Elbe, contained in 1820, exclusive of its garrison, near 37,000 souls. At the present time, there are not more than 4000 soldiers stationed here. Its fortifications are very extensive, requiring at least 30,000 men to man all the walls. Thus garrisoned, it would bid defiance to any force which could be brought against it. In the late war, the allies did not venture to attack it. The Prussian general Tauenzien encamped before it, merely blockading the city, and the French kept possession until after the peace of Paris, when it once more fell into the hands of Frederick William. This city is considered by the Prussians as the strongest fortress in Germany, and one of the four or five strongest on the earth.* The fortifications have been greatly improved since the Russian war, and are now considered capable of bidding defiance to every enemy, except famine and treason.

* The celebrated siege and storming of this fortress, is one to which the Germans still look with horror. The description which Schiller has given of it in his "Thirty Years War," is enough to melt the heart of the most experienced soldier. "Neither youth, sex, beauty, nor condition, could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents. No situation, however sacred, was exempt from insult. Fifty-three dead bodies of women, who had been beheaded, were found in the cathedral; the Croats amused themselves in throwing children into the flames. To some of the officers, who urged Tilly to stop this carnage, he replied, 'Return in an hour, I will see what can be done. The soldier must be rewarded for his toils.' The town had been set on fire, and it was not until the flames drove these hell-hounds away, that they relinquished their pillage, but to which they returned as soon as the city, with the exception of a few houses and two churches, was reduced to ashes. Thirty thousand of the inhabitants perished in this carnage and in the flames. After thus blotting a city and its inhabitants out of existence, Tilly ordered mass and a Te Deum to be performed, while the streets were yet moist with blood. He then boasted that no such conquest had been gained, since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem."

They still exhibit to the stranger the prison in which the celebrated Baron Trenck was confined. Probably no man, who has not inhabited the cell of an Inquisition, ever experienced more bodily suffering than this gallant officer. That the princess Amelia should condescend to love a simple nobleman, and that he should not reject it, although he was a great favourite of Frederick and had been for some time his aid-de-camp, was an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the monarch. The ignominious and brutal treatment he received, has left a black stain on the character of that intellectually great king, which all his victories will not wash away. In this prison, in a dungeon eighty feet under ground, with sixty pounds of iron suspended from his body, he remained ten years, buoyed up only by the hope of final deliverance. After his escape, his evil fortune still pursued him. During the early part of the French revolution he resided in Paris, in great indigence, and finally added one more to the great number of foreigners, whom Robespierre sent to the guillotine.*

Magdeburg has an extensive commerce, particularly in its woollen and linen manufactures. It derives also very considerable advantages, from its being the entrepot for most of the goods bound to Hamburg. There are annually more than two hundred arrivals here from the former city. These vessels carry from thirty to sixty tons. This city, like most of the fortified towns of Europe, presents very few interesting objects to induce a traveller to protract his stay.

Over ditches which are spanned by drawbridges, and between walls whose black cannon open their mouths at you, you enter and leave Magdeburg. The fertile land which the Elbe has formed around it, in this region of comparative sterility, reminds the traveller of an Oasis of the desert. He soon enters the country of sand, which is here and there spotted with evergreens, the only objects, excepting a few poor villages, to relieve the eye from this

* As he advanced to the place of execution, he said to the surrounding spectators, "Why are you so much astonished? What you see is only a comedy after the manner of Robespierre." Monsieur Dieudonne Thiebault, in his "Original Anecdotes of Frederick the Great," has given a very particular account of Baron Trenck. The anecdotes which he relates, he received from Trenck himself.

monotonous barrenness. Over a fine road he rattles on at the rate of six miles an hour (a very rapid rate of travelling for Germany,) and if he is so fortunate as to have a seat in the *Schnell Wagen*, he closes the windows and cheerfully resigns himself to the embraces of "kind nature's sweet restorer."

The northern half of East Prussia, extending from latitude 52° to the Baltic, as well as the northern half of Hanover, Oldenberg, a part of West Prussia, and the northern half of Holland, forms one immense plain, rarely broken by a single hill, where barrenness loves to reign. The borders of the rivers where alluvial land has been formed, are almost the only fertile spots in this immense field of sand. Like the south-eastern territory of the United States, it appears to have been formed by the action of the ocean. The Baltic seems to have been no less powerful than the Northern Sea, in throwing up this immense sand flat, where no hill of any altitude rises to relieve the eye, even with its sandy precipices. It is less densely populated than any part of the western half of Europe. "Thou shalt earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow," is a sentence fully understood by every peasant who cultivates this parched soil. It is by dint of effort only that he can gain a subsistence, and this would not enable him to pay his taxes, had he not from necessity learned that economy is his best friend. With such a continued monotony before me, I felt very willing to exchange all the sandy prospects around me for the charms of sleep, certain as I was that my dreams would present a greater variety, and scenes much more beautiful. Potsdam, through which we passed in the night, was the only object of interest. This city, which contains the favourite country seats of Frederick the Great, we did not then stop to visit, as it is but a short distance from the capital. As morning dawned upon us, the towers and domes, and spires of Berlin rose above the sandy plain which surrounds it, and in a few minutes, the rattling of our wheels on the pavement, announced our arrival in the Prussian metropolis.

LETTER VII.

BERLIN, 1826.

BERLIN is a very beautiful city, containing nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants. Its resemblance to the large towns in our country is greater than that of any other city I have seen in Europe. The new part of the town has been erected within the last century, and shows its recent origin in every edifice. Its streets are rectangular like those of Philadelphia, and are rather wider than those of our towns. A traveller coming from France or Italy, is not a little surprised by the contrast it presents to the large cities of those countries, the narrow lanes of which, for most of them do not deserve the appellation of streets, are so frequently choked with the population which swarm through them. Genoa, for example, has but three streets which are wide enough for carriages to pass, and some of them are so narrow, that a person six feet in height may touch the opposite houses by extending his arms. The narrowness of the streets and the great altitude of the houses often prevent the inhabitants from seeing more than a handful of sky, and on the pavements of many of them the rays of the sun never fall. The intense heat of the summer, and the expense of of erecting the very extensive walls that were so necessary in Italy during the stormy ages, when those cities rose into importance, were no doubt the reasons for constructing the streets in this manner. The enjoyment of the shade which these lofty edifices afford in summer, is more than an equivalent for the loss of the sun's rays during the few bright days of winter. Most of the streets of Paris are also very narrow, and so dark, unless you live between the fourth and sixth stories, that you feel as if the sun were very sparing of his favours. So long accustomed had I been to the narrow and dirty lanes of France and Italy, that it seemed like entering a city of the new world, when the wide and clean streets of Berlin opened to my view. In every other capital which I had

seen, many of the edifices reminded me of a distant age. In the north, the Gothic cathedrals, with their lofty spires and turrets rising from every public square, transport you to the period of semi-civilization, of which such edifices are the work; while south of the Alps, palaces, churches, and other monuments, rise before you at every turn, reminding you of ages which have long since passed away. Here no cathedral with a protecting saint after whom it is named, lifts its proud dome or tower far above the surrounding buildings; no monument which time has soiled, relates the story of ancient triumphs. Here you behold no religious processions in honour of the Mother of God, or of Saint Somebody, with a population kneeling to the wafer as it is carried from street to street; no lazy, ragged canaille nor lazzaroni, that pass a large part of their time in religious idleness, in honour of some one whose name is enrolled on the calendar.

The houses here are from three to five stories in height. They are built of brick, and covered with a cement of cream colour, looking, unless when minutely observed, very much like stone, and having an appearance of solidity, very unlike the light edifices of our American cities. In this wilderness of sand, stones do not exist, and between this region and the Baltic, a quarry could not probably be found sufficiently extensive to construct a theatre. This is the reason why the public edifices are almost universally of brick, a material so rarely seen in other European cities. The side-walks are almost all paved with small round stones, and are very disagreeable for any but a German to walk upon. Fortunately for the Prussians, their feet are large enough to cover a number of them, and they are thus able to keep their balance much better than most travellers, who make as many wry faces in walking on them as the pilgrim who walked to Palestine on unboiled peas. The public buildings here are grand, but inferior to those of the large cities of the south and west of Europe. The perspective view of the street called *unter den Linden*, is not surpassed by the '*Toledo* of Naples, or the celebrated '*Corso* of Rome. Terminated at one end by the magnificent palace of the king, and at the other by the *Brandenburg Thor*, the most splendid gate of Europe, it presents a beauty superior to any street west of the Neva, with the exception of the Rue Rivoli. A minute inspection

shews you that these splendid edifices are made of brick, which are so ugly as to require a coat of cement to hide them. This is not always firm enough to resist the northern frosts, and this miserable material appears underneath, reminding you of a gilded chain which only at a distance looks pure gold.

The *Thiergarten*, or Park, beyond the Brandenburg gate, is the favourite lounge of all the fashionables, and of all who imitate them, down to the humble mechanic. At eleven o'clock on Sunday morning, the broad walk under the Linden is teeming with citizens. The nobility and foreign ambassadors, with their families in carriages or on horseback, fill up the broad roads on each side of it, looking down with supreme satisfaction on the plain pedestrians. At a distance you see the population suddenly stop, and from the removal of hats you anticipate the arrival of the monarch, or of some one of the royal family; but to your surprise, you see nothing but a plain carriage drawn by two horses, and inferior to most of those on the promenade. As it approaches, the hats continue to rise above the heads of the owners, and unable to divine why, you inquire of the officer who happens to be near you, the cause of this sudden transformation of the crowd into statues; and are informed that "*der König kommt*," the king is coming. Accustomed as you have been in other capitals, to see the monarch preceded and followed by a long file of the *Garde du Corps*, you still stretch your neck and look forward to catch a glance at his face, and not until you observe the hats replaced and their owners again in motion, do you learn that the occupant of the humble carriage which just passed was the sovereign of Prussia. Continuing your ramble you soon perceive all hats rising anew, and to your inquiry why, are told that the crown prince is coming, Having been stopped but twice, you submit to it with all the necessary patience, believing that all interruptions of this kind are over, but you soon discover however, that that you have just commenced your morning drill. Now prince Ludwig, or prince Karl comes along, who must receive a similar salute; or perhaps they succeed each other so near, that before your hat fairly covers your head, it must be again removed. Dreading lest you may take cold by this long exposure of your cranium, your replace your chapeau, hoping to escape all future

interruptions, when suddenly appears a young boy on horseback, who is saluted with the same respect. If your rule is, "In Rome to do as the Romans do," off goes your hat again to prince Albrecht. Is the princess Charlotte, the wife of Nicholas of Russia, or the princess Alexandrine of Mecklenburg Schwerin, or the princess Louisa, wife of prince Frederick Charles of Holland, one or all of them on a visit to the king their father; your arm is raised again and again to your head, as your feelings of gallantry compel you to pay this tribute of respect. You inquire with anxiety how many children the king has, and learning that there are no more, you conclude to continue your ramble. Strolling on with the crowd for several minutes, you exclaim in despair "*Monsieur Tonson has come again*," as for the eighth time you observe all hats rising in the air. You once more inquire of your neighbour "who is it, do the royal family make the circuit of the *Thiergarten*;" when you learn that it is the princess Amelia, or perhaps some one or more of her children. These are soon succeeded by the duchess of Cumberland, or by prince Frederick Wilhelm, or by prince Augustus, or by prince somebody else, all hats being elevated until you strike off from the main promenade into the narrow paths of the park, where you find a relief from the mechanical respect to which you have been subjected by the force of national custom.

The Prussians are almost idolaters of royalty. To them nothing terrestrial is so pure, so holy, so elevated above the world, so worthy of reverence, as the monarch and his family. To them it is the same thing whether his life has been great and glorious, or the reverse; at least, so far as external respect is concerned. They do not regard the present sovereign as a man of talents; they know that it was themselves, and not their king, who broke the French yoke. Still were they to behold the great Frederick returning from his conquests, victory would not heighten these outward exhibitions of regard. When Napoleon passed through Berlin, twenty years since, they received him very much as they do their sovereign; not because he was a favourite of the nation, but because he was an emperor. There is something in this feeling incomprehensible to an American, accustomed, as he is, to see talent and worth the passport to success, or to fame; something

which reminds him of oriental servitude, and which makes him feel that if the Prussians are worthy of freedom, the day of their deliverance is in the distant futurity.

Berlin is almost exclusively a Protestant city. Of thirty-six churches, only one is Catholic; and that a small edifice for that denomination. The inhabitants find that they go on through life quite as well without the protection of the Virgin, as those cities which have churches dedicated to her praise, and to that of several scores of the most prominent saints of the calendar. In truth, as it respects this world, they get along much better; for the festival days of the Catholic church fill such cities with paupers, while those of Protestant countries are comparatively free from them.

Europe does not present a greater contrast than an Italian and a Protestant metropolis. Here the churches are the only constant external objects which remind you that you are in a religious country. South of the Alps the Catholic religion meets you wherever you turn your eyes. In the morning, when you awake, it appears in the consecrated wax candle, with a painted representation of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove; in the crucifix; or in the picture of Santa Maria, or of some one of the saints, which is suspended near your bed. Having left your couch to take a ramble, you perceive it in the hundreds of triangular hats and black and purple stockings of Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, and Noviciates. At the corners it presents itself in the form of a Madonna, with the infant Jesus in painting or in sculpture; again in the crucifix carried through street after street, succeeded by a long procession of the clergy; in men or women, with dominos covering their faces, and soliciting money for the mother of God; in a multitude of dirty, barefooted, lazy monks, with faces as round as the moon, begging you to give something to a poor capuchin, or to one of some other order. At the next turn it appears in the sister of charity, arrayed in garments as black as Tarturus; or in a prostrate multitude kneeling barcheaded to the host, and looking at you as you pass by them, with your head covered, as if, with the expression, "you will burn for this." You hear it in the matin and vesper bell, and from every beggar who accosts you, smoothing his petition with the names of a dozen saints, to give more force to his entreaty. You hear it again in the devotee who stands under a picture or

crucifix and counts his beads, while he repeats and re-repeats his Pater Noster and Ave Maria, calling upon la Virgine beatissima as his greatest protector; and in the music which precedes a procession in honour, not of God, but of the patron saint of the city through which you are passing. You taste it in the meagre fish dinners which you get on Friday. You smell it in the incense which you inhale as you enter one of the churches; and your nose perceives its effects in the dirty priest or monk who happens to be near you. Sometimes you even feel it in the jog of the devotee, who reminds you that you must kneel, for Christ (viz. a wafer) is approaching. In one word, it occupies all your senses; being seen, felt, heard, smelt, or tasted, by every traveller who crosses the Alps.

The environs of Berlin are very tedious, presenting little besides pine trees and windmills, to relieve the eye from an almost endless monotony. Even the culinary wants of the capital have not succeeded in covering the sand which surrounds it with a tolerable share of verdure. Saratoga and Ballstown, dull and dreary as they are, if they are not "infinitely more picturesque," to use a favourite expression with English travellers, are certainly less uninteresting. Were one to pass a millennium in the Prussian capital, and never travel more than half a dozen miles from it, as many of the inhabitants do not, he would not discover images enough to grace a descriptive couplet; unless he should cultivate his imagination at the gallery, or in some of the picture shops, where fairer lands unfold their beauties in the faint reflection of painting and engraving. Notwithstanding this absolute want of natural beauty, I have heard some of the Berliners speak of the fine views near the city, to one of which they have given the name of Bellevue. This must result from the same principle by which the icy cliffs and snowy wilderness of Iceland appear to the eye of an inhabitant of that island, more beautiful than the residence of a southern monarch. The Prussian has the most reason on his side, for a wilderness of sand, with a tint of green, is certainly preferable to an almost eternal winter.

The Prussians are the largest men I have seen in Europe, excepting the Hungarian soldiers. While in the crowds of France and Italy, I could easily look over the heads of most around me;

but here a stretching of neck and tiptoe are necessary, when surrounded by a multitude of Berliners. The same superiority in height is visible in the females, who will average from two to three inches more than those of France and Italy. Their complexions are very fair; yet, owing to the transparency of the skin, or to the excess of blood, their cheeks are much too red for beauty. The line between the red and the white is frequently so perfectly distinct, and the colour so abundant, that you would naturally suppose it to be the effect of rouge, did not the cheeks of the *Burschen* and the Philistines have the same appearance. The men have usually shoulders so broad, as to convey the idea of great physical vigour; but their puny legs soon convince you, that this is not an indication of strength, but of a want of symmetry. Their necks are often too short for beauty, and their feet are so large that the shoemakers must receive but little profit, at the moderate prices for which they dispose of their work. It is very rare to see a well formed man in this city; and the few whom you happen to meet, have something in their walk or manner, or in their white locks, which makes their *tout ensemble* not exactly the thing. Their hair is lighter than that of the Scotch who live north of them, and not unfrequently so nearly white, as to remind you of an Albino. Still you find more black eyes and dark hair in Berlin than in most of the northern cities of Germany, as several thousand French came here about the commencement of the revolution, whose blood has been mingled with that of the Prussians. Notwithstanding this counteracting cause, one-fourth of the inhabitants have hair lighter than the medium between the Italian and Albino. There is no greater contrast than the deep red cheeks you often see, and the locks of cotton that surround them; or than the white mustaches curling in front, and the mass of red by their side. To avoid the last incongruity, many officers and soldiers (for they are required to wear this ornament) dye their mustaches black. As this tint is applied only once or twice a week, you soon discover an equally powerful contrast. White roots and dark ends to this military emblem, which, with the deep red of their cheeks and the gaudy bads of t heir caps, give as many colours to their faces, as there were in the coat of Joseph.

The females are not as well formed as their neighbours west of

the Rhine, being usually too large for grace and elegance. There is nothing of that light airy tread, which makes the *Parisiennes* the most beautiful objects on a promenade, of any of the daughters of Eve. The large feet of the German ladies is the principal cause of their want of grace in their motions, as well as the fact that *la mode* is not studied here as much as in most capitals. Their countenances are less expressive than the French or the northern Italian ladies, and though they have more feeling as a nation, the veil which covers it is less transparent. Like the ladies of our own country, they are, to some extent, in the habit of keeping their eyes fixed on other objects than the individual with whom they are conversing, and when you catch those of a young lady, it is but for a moment. This prudish retreat of the eye, prevents them from doing themselves justice, as the expression which may animate their faces, is most of it lost on the carpet, or on some other insensible object. In intellectual cultivation they are, as a nation, superior to any other on the continent. A French or Italian lady will amuse you, a German will interest you, by her conversation. In that class which we term genteel society, they almost universally talk French. Not a small number of them speak English, and are also well acquainted with the literature of the two countries.

Not a few of the laws of Prussia have a powerful influence in keeping alive the distinctions which exist between noblemen and commoners. Frederick the Great,* when forming his army for a peace establishment, retained only the nobility in service. The other officers who had fought his battles, were forced to retire into active life, however disagreeable to them it might have been to them to change their professions. They were thus compelled to

* Frederick's reason for pursuing this course, according to Thiebault, was the following. The nobility were so restricted by certain points of honour, that they could not consistently with their noble birth, pursue most of the professions in which the commoners cheerfully embarked. As a state is the most prosperous when all are employed in some active pursuit, by dismissing those who were not of noble birth, and retaining those who were, the greatest amount of profit would arise to the state; for the former would be compelled to engage in some active employment. The above mentioned writer says, that he knew of but one officer among the commoners, who was not dismissed.

remain in a species of disgrace, until a new war broke out, when commissions were again offered them. Under such a military leader as Frederick, even the nobility fought bravely. At the battle of Jena, when the kingdom of Prussia was annihilated in a single day, the army was officered almost exclusively by noblemen. In the war of 1813 and 14, when these distinctions had in a great measure ceased, they performed wonders; a signal instance of the difference in the conduct of men, when a motive is placed before them. The present king is now endeavouring to revive these distinctions. All the officers who hold at the present time a rank superior to a captaincy, are noble by birth; or if, as has sometimes happened, a commoner has risen to such a station by the force of his talents, he almost always receives from the king the prefix of *Von* to his name, to keep up this ideal distinction of superiority. It is next to impossible for one who is not a nobleman, whatever his merit may be, to obtain the place of secretary or attaché to any of the foreign embassies.

The same distinctions exist in civil life. Most of the offices throughout the kingdom are filled by this privileged class of society. This is not all; they are arraigned before a court, differing from that in which most of the commoners are tried. In this no citizen can be prosecuted unless he belongs to the army, the clergy, or holds an office under government. If a nobleman is found guilty of one of a certain class of crimes, he is sent to a *Festung* or military fortress, which is an honourable kind of prison. If a commoner is guilty of the same crime, he is condemned to a penitentiary. So long have these distinctions prevailed, that the citizens do not appear to be conscious that they rest upon an ideal basis. The nobility generally, and most of the commoners whom I have seen, believe that it is impossible for a country to exist without them. When I have described to them our own prosperity, as a powerful argument against their assertion, they universally defend their opinion, by replying that fifty years hence the same distinctions will certainly be found in the United States. The Prussian monarchists, as well as most others in Europe, with whom I have conversed when predicting the loss of our liberties, have always attempted to establish the justice of their opinions by appealing to the history of the Italian Republics; so ignorant are

they in fact of our institutions. Accustomed as they are to a restricted press, they have no idea of the influence of a thousand newspapers on a free nation, every individual of whom examines the proceedings of government, either in those vehicles of intelligence, in the magazines, in public assemblies, or private circles, with the same freedom, with which he would scrutinize the character of Herod and Nero. When I state this fact, in reply to their assertion that ere long we shall have a nobility in the United States, they shrug their shoulders, look astonished, and reply that it is very indecorous to speak of those who are above us in such a manner. One of the nobility who was conversing with me a few days since on this subject, inquired "if an American were to publish any thing against the king of Prussia, would not your President punish him, if the Prussian government should request it?" I replied, that a President of the United States had no power to do it; but were he to attempt it, he would soon find himself the criminal, and would probably be removed from his office, for thus violating the rights of a citizen. He looked amazed at my reply, declaring that such a freedom as this was the *ne plus ultra* of Jacobinism. He felt apparently that the character of the monarch was holy, and that not a whisper of censure should be he heard, without a speedy infliction of punishment, on the individual who should thus dare to violate the sanctity of royalty. Such feelings will be as incomprehensible to you, as mine and those of most of my countrymen were to him.

By the census of 1824, Prussia contained twelve millions of inhabitants, more than two hundred thousand of whom were nobles; or one nobleman to sixty souls. Such a formidable array of nobility is unequalled in the other countries of Europe, not even excepting the two Sicilies, which have nearly two hundred princes, and dukes, marquisses, counts, and barons, without end. I have seen but one class in Europe, which bears any similar proportion to the whole number; viz. the priests, monks, and other orders of holy men whom yon meet with in Italy. Here all the sons of a nobleman inherit the title of the father. With the exception of a few families where entailed estates exist, the property is divided equally between them. As they are very proud and usually have little enterprise, they are not unfrequently so poor that many of our shoemakers, and barbers

would not exchange situations with them, if they were compelled to take their poverty as an appendage to their titles. A few of them are wealthy for Prussia, though the number is very small whose incomes exceed ten thousand dollars. Not one in ten has an annual rent of one thousand dollars, and more than half of them have not an income of five hundred. Their pride prevents them from embarking in commerce, and the theological profession they very rarely embrace. As noblemen have backs to be covered, and stomachs to be filled, as well as plebians, they must do something for subsistence, or become mere lazzaroni. If possible, they procure a lieutenancy in the army, which at the present time is officered almost exclusively by the nobility, or enter the profession of medicine, or of law. Others occupy the places of secretaries, and clerks, in the departments of the ministry, police, and post-office, custom-houses, &c. In this manner they are enabled to keep life within them and to support their titles with an income of from three to five hundred dollars, which is paid to them for their five or six hours daily labour. Prussia is so poor that even her ministers receive but a very small compensation; and those who hold inferior places under the government, of course expect but a pittance. Places, like most of those which are filled by the clerks, in the thousand ramifications of the ministerial department, though they would be rejected by an American of the least spirit, are coveted here by the nobility, and when once procured, they feel that their fortune is made.

The nobles with few exceptions, marry, only among each other, but not a small number of them lead lives of single blessedness; for celibacy here is bliss, in comparison with matrimony, and titled poverty. Notwithstanding their limited resources, they feel that it is a great debasement to ally themselves with the children of Hamburg or Lubeck merchants, whatever their wealth may be As the majority have nothing but their titles, they are very tenacious of these, and cling to the *Von* or *Baron*, or *Graf*, which is prefixed to their names, very much like drowning men to straws. To omit these prefixes when you address them, and to call them in the true republican style merely Herr or Mr. is an affront which they cannot easily forgive. The daughters of the nobility are equally tenacious of the title of *Fraülein* and were a native Prus-

sian to call them mademoiselle, they would screw their faces, if not into shapes unholy, at least into those which would be very ugly. The daughters of the citizens not unfrequently assume this prefix, which is very offensive to the nobility, one of whom lately informed me that nothing was more disagreeable to him, than to hear a young lady who was not noble, called *Fraülein*. I could not avoid smiling and telling him that so different were my feelings, that it constantly gave me pain to see such ideal distinction in Germany, and that the principal cause of the happiness and prosperity of my own country, is the equality of birth which is there universal. He could not comprehend how a nation could exist without such distinctions, which he asserted to be not only natural, but indispensable to national happiness. Almost all the nobility of Europe with whom I have conversed, have expressed similar sentiments. Even the most liberal of those who apparently desire a constitutional form of government, would be very unwilling to receive the liberty which it would bring, if their titles must be sacrificed to obtain it. I have generally adopted this principle in these conversations, that the opinions which we form of every individual, should depend entirely upon his character, and not upon the rank of his father; but with all the arguments which my republican experience could adduce, I have never been able to make the slightest impression on the hereditary prejudices of a single German nobleman.

This love of title is universal among the Germans. Their complaisance in addressing each other in their billets and letters is extremely ludicrous. The titles with which an Italian addresses his correspondent, are more than a plain Republican can understand; but before the superscription of a letter written by a German, he stands abashed and confounded. In addressing a Graf, the German title of Count, for example, you write *An den Hochgebornen Graf, Graf von Schmidt;* which in English, means, to the high *well born Count, Count of Schmidt.* If the gentleman is one of the Hofrath Professors, with his usual titles; you write *to the high well born Mr., Mr. Knight and Counsellor of Court, Schmidt, bearer of the Guelph order,* if he lives in Göttingen, or if in Prussia, *bearer of the black eagle,* or *red eagle,* or *of the Louisa order,* &c. &c. Is the aforesaid Mr. S. nothing but a Baron, you write *to the high well born Baron, Baron of Schmidt.* Should he,

however, be a plain citizen, his letters are directed merely *to the well born Mr., Mr. S. citizen, in Berlin.* Does Mr. Schmidt happen to be a mechanic, you must not omit giving him his title on the billet or letter which contains your order; for should you do this, there are ten chances to one, that he will not make you the coat or boots which you so much need. To be sure of having a new dress for your journey, or for the next ball, you must address him as the *hochedelgebornen Herr Herr Schmidt, Schneider oder Schumacher*, which, as well as I can translate it in the sense they use this word as a prefix, means, *to the respectably well-born Mr. Mr. Schmidt, Tailor or Shoemaker.* A simple peasant would get nothing more than *to the tolerably born Mr. Mr. ———, Peasant.*

When they address each other, they give not only the husband his title, but also confer it upon his wife; for she is not satisfied with those which nature has given her, but lays claim to those of her partner, as they are but of one flesh. In inquiring for the former, you ask, is the Mr. Professor, the Mr. Doctor, the Mr. Lawyer, the Mr. Minister of Finance, at home; and, in speaking to them, you must be equally on your guard not to omit these titles. In calling to pay your respects to their wives, you always inquire, is Mrs. or the Lady Professoress, the Lady Lawyeress, the Lady Counselloress* of Justice, at home; and, in speaking to them, you say, I hope that *die Frau*, (which corresponds with the Lady, or with Mrs.,) Professoress has been well, since I had the pleasure of seeing her. Should the lady with whom you converse belong to the nobility, you always say in reply, *Nein, or Ja gnadige Frau;* no, or yes, gracious Lady. Will the gracious Lady, or will the gracious *Fraülein*, young Lady, grant me the pleasure of her company in the next dance, or permit me to accompany her to her carriage. As it takes many months to learn these titles, you will easily perceive the frequent embarrassments to which a stranger is exposed on his first arrival. To a plain republican it is a labyrinth, to which that of Minos was almost a highway. In truth, since my residence here, I have often been under the necessity of holding my tongue, when my mouth was

* In the German language, there is a feminine substantive, corresponding to every masculine title.

brimfull of conversation, and have found as much difficulty in avoiding offence, as a helmsman often does in steering his ship through a dangerous channel.

The number of these titles often attached to a single name is so great, that when you direct a single letter, it is difficult to say where to stop; and, in addressing an individual, to select those which are the dearest to his heart. All of them you can not neglect; and, to be complaisant, you need a vocabulary, where they are arranged in the order of their value. An incident occurred, a few months since, in this city, which will illustrate the difficulty to which one is often exposed. A gentleman recently died here, who, some weeks before his death, was promoted from *Hofrath* to *Legationsrath*. A few weeks after his death, the widow went to visit the grave of her husband. As she was weeping over it, one of her acquaintance advanced towards her, and coming to the grave, told her "how much she felt for her in the loss she had sustained in the death of the Mr. *Hofrath*, &c.," giving him his old title, as she was ignorant of his recent promotion. This was too much even for a weeping widow to bear. She replied to her with great spirit, "I wish you to understand that my husband did not die a Mr. *Hofrath*, but a Mr. *Legationsrath*."

It is the custom in Prussia, whenever two persons are engaged to be married, to publish the engagement in the newspaper. This is quite an improvement, as it saves the individuals not a little inconvenience from the impertinent curiosity of their neighbours, as well as from the two or three months additional raillery, to which, with us, the parties are exposed. I copy from one of the papers the following advertisements, to shew you how the communication runs:

"I have the honour respectfully to give notice, of the betrothing of my only daughter, to Mr. P**, of Newstead, Judge of the domain.

"Signed, The widowed Counselloress of Justice R***.

"As betrothed, present their remembrance, AMELIA R***.
EDWARD P***."

Here is another:

"We have the honour respectfully to give notice, to our relatives and friends, of the betrothing of our daughter H*** with Mr. Preacher H**, Junr. of Berlin.

"Signed, M**, Upper Counsellor of Justice for the Country.
LOUISE M**, born G**.

When two persons are married, and leave the city to reside in another part of the kingdom, they not only bid their friends personally farewell, but on the day of their departure, they take leave of them a second time through the medium of the Gazette. Here is an example:—

"On our marriage, which took place to day, we commend ourselves respectfully to our friends and relations. As we are on the point of departing for Königsberg, from the heart we wish them prosperity." Berlin, Oct. 9, 1825.

"Signed, EDWARD L***.
CHARLOTTE L** born S**.

You will thus see that the Prussians have a variety of modes of appearing before the public, and of calling the attention of newspaper readers, at least for a moment. These are not all. Whenever a father has an addition made to his family, it is considered necessary to announce this important event in black and white. This is undoubtedly very satisfactory to the proprietors of journals, but to one searching for news from Greece, or from the South American Republics, it affords very little satisfaction for the loss of more interesting intelligence, to learn that the population of Prussia is increasing. The annunciation runs in the following manner:

"The fortunate delivery of my wife, on the sixth of this month, of a healthy boy, I announce herewith to my friends and relations.

"Signed, F. A. R***."

There is another custom peculiar to this country, at least I have never heard of it excepting in the north of Germany. When an individual is sick, the friends of the family call and ring at the door. In the hall they find a book lying on the table, in which some one of the family writes every morning and evening the state of the patient's health, giving all those particulars which would be interesting to the friends of the individual. Under this morning and evening bulletin, all those who call write their names, to apprise the family of their sympathy. They never see the members of it, unless they have some other object than ascertaining the condition of the patient. This custom saves them from not a little of

the inconvenience, to which the family of the invalid are frequently exposed with us, by the protracted calls of friends, as well as from the continual pain to which every new inquiry and melancholy reply subjects them. There is something so unostentatious in this silent sympathy, and at the same time apparently so sincere, that it seems to me like one of the few beautiful vestiges which remain of a poetic age.

The Germans scarce ever make use of those arms which nature has given them, abhorring not only the marks, but the sight of the fist. The common people in their disputes, seem to be almost unconscious that they possess this weapon. Even when under the influence of violent passion, the termination of a dispute is usually *vox et præterea nihil.* When it assumes the form of a genuine row, they use it in a manner that is ludicrously awkward to an American or Englishman. The higher classes equally dislike this mode of attack, as no insult can be offered so great as a blow. At Göttingen there is a law among the students, that if one strikes another, he shall be treated by every member of the university as a dog, and whenever he appears on the side walk, he shall not be suffered to remain. Here as in Italy, nothing but the blood of the aggressor can wash away the foul dishonour, which such an offence inflicts upon the recipient. In the Prussian army this opinion is carried to a still greater extreme. If one of the officers receives a blow from a person inferior in rank, (for here the army takes the precedence of most other classes) his companions from that time withdraw from his society, and ever afterwards avoid speaking to him. Even challenging and killing the aggressor, if he is of inferior rank, does not efface the blemish from the character of a brother officer.

An illustration of this false idea of honour was recently displayed here. A lady, at one of the public balls, having dropped her bracelet, an officer of her acquaintance who observed it, took it up, and put it into his pocket, with the intention of calling upon her the next day and presenting it to her. A goldsmith, who happened to be present, immediately accused him of pocketing it with the intention of keeping it. To punish him for this insult, he called at his shop the next day, and boxed his ears. The servant of the goldsmith soon coming to his assistance, they succeeded

in overpowering the lieutenant, and, after beating him, pushed him out of the door, and threw his sword after him. As this occurred in one of the principal streets, at 11 o'clock, A. M., it was impossible to conceal it, or prevent its soon spreading over the city. He had now, as he thought, only three courses to pursue: to leave the army, and remain in perpetual disgrace, for if he retained his place, all the officers of his regiment would send in their resignations; to seek his fortune in a foreign country; or to shoot himself. The first, his feelings would not allow; the second, he could not do, as he was without resources; he therefore concluded to do the last; and, about fifteen minutes after the event occurred, he entered his room, loaded his pistols, and shot himself. This act, strange as it may seem in our eyes, was applauded by most of the Prussians who conversed with me on the subject. He could do nothing else, say they, for neither time nor distance could wash away such a stain. God, said one of them to me, will pardon any individual who takes away his own life from such a high sense of honour. I told them that in the nature of things, it was no greater disgrace to an individual to be whipped by two persons, than for an inferior army to yield to a superior force. Had he been his equal in rank, they replied, your argument would be a good one; but as he was not, the only course left was to take away his life. Frederick the Great, it is said, kicked his subjects in several instances; but royal kicks are less ignominious here than plebeian blows, although received in self-defence. His father, Frederick William the first, was accustomed to strike his officers without hesitation.* His brutal and despotic character qualified him for the station of keeper of a menagerie, much more than for that of the

* An instance of the brutal conduct of William is related by Thiebault. "Irritated at the imperfect manner in which some troops were performing a manœuvre, he advanced full speed towards the major who commanded them, and gave him several blows with his stick. This brave officer already advanced in years, and much esteemed by the army, followed the king, stopped his horse before that of his majesty, in the middle of the parade, and drawing his pistol from his saddle, he said: "Sire, you have dishonoured me, and I must have satisfaction.' At the same moment he fired one of the pistols over the king's head, exclaiming, '*This is for you!*' then aiming the other at himself, he cried, '*This is for me*,' and shot himself through the head."

sovereign of a civilized people. However much the custom of giving blows may exist among the soldiers in the army, nothing will ever reconcile the people to it. They regard it as the most unpardonable insult which can be offered. A shopkeeper who dislikes even the smell of powder, would tread the field of honour to wash away such a stain. This idea seems to be fixed, and nothing will probably eradicate it, but religion.

The Jews in Berlin are numerous, amounting to some thousands. and they are in more affluent circumstances than in any city I have visited. Before the year 1813, they were not allowed to hold real estate. At that time the king published a proclamation, informing them that if they would unite in the struggle for freedom, they should be placed upon the same footing as his other subjects. The devotion then exhibited to the cause of their monarch, induced him to remove the obstacles to their enjoying the rights of citizenship. They are now permitted to hold real estate, though in Mecklenburg, and in some other German states, they can hold only personal property. The reason given for this restriction, is the fear that they will eventually become owners of most of the real estate, if they are permitted to hold lands. The Jews in Berlin are treated by the Christians much better than in most other countries of Europe. They do not, as in most other cities, live entirely separate, but visit extensively among the Christians. Many of them are quite intelligent, and well versed in the literature of their own and other languages. In the southern countries of Europe, they are treated with great contempt and severity. In Rome they are allowed to live only in a certain part of the city, which is surrounded by a wall. There, at eight o'clock every evening, they are locked in, and not permitted to come out until the next morning. They are so crowded together, that perhaps no space in Europe of the same extent, is more teeming with population, than the suburb of the Hebrews at Rome. It was so filthy when I visited it, that it was difficult to walk through it without a snuff-box in your hand, and unless you closed your eyes, you were disgusted in the extreme with the dirt and slovenliness of the inhabitants.

Some years since, a number of the Jews of Berlin seceded from their brethren and built a synagogue, with the intention of esta-

blishing a purely Mosaic worship, and of throwing off all dependence upon their Rabbins, in whom they did not believe. As the control of religion is a prerogative of the government, the Prussian administration chose to interfere, and informed them that they would not consent to their introducing a new sect, but that they must be either Rabbinical Jews or Christians. As the government would not allow them to purify their worship, they were reluctantly compelled to join the Rabbinical sect, alloyed as their religion is with traditions and nonsense.

An American, mingling in society in this country, is much surprised at the difference he observes in the topics of conversation prevalent here, and with us. The strict censorship which has for so long a period governed the press, as well as the dread produced by the daily sight of *gendarmes*, and by a consciousness of the accurate and extensive information which the government possesses through its system of *èspionage*, prevents all appearance of political discussion in a mixed circle. The numerous diversities of creeds which exist in this country, as well as the very great indifference which most persons feel respecting the dogmas of the Lutheran Church, have excluded religion from among the topics of conversation in society. In conversing with a gentleman, if you introduce a political subject, he looks around him cautiously to see who may be near, and then replies to you in a whisper, conveying but an imperfect idea of his real sentiments. So accustomed are they to a restricted press, that there seems to be but one general feeling on this subject; the necessity of silence. When alone with them, they will sometimes partially banish their fears, and inform you that every thing is not exactly as they would wish; but there are then so many explanations and suggestions added before the conversation ends, that you are left in doubt as to their real sentiments. It makes my American blood boil when I see this cowardly spirit; but I should probably feel very differently had my neck been galled by the yoke of submission, and were my fears ever alive lest my fate might become as mysteriously dark as that of some of their friends or acquaintances on whom suspicion has rested. Not only in Prussia, but in every country which I have visited, has it been my constant habit to express my thoughts on all political subjects, except as to the administration of the government under whose protection I hap-

pened to be at the time, with the same freedom as in my own country. I knew that my passport would protect me from personal outrage, and that the only inconvenience that could befal me, would be an order to leave the country ; a punishment less disagreeable to me than that of putting fetters on my mouth. When thus conversing, the Prussians look at me with surprise at my boldness, and by a continued silence, leave me in doubt as to their real sentiments, or give a whispered acquiescence.

The Germans are doubtless the easiest people in Europe to be governed. They are much less ardent than the French or the other nations of the South of Europe, and it requires far greater aggression to rouse them to a public expression of their feelings. So long have they been accustomed to submit to a foreign or native master, that they appear to have no thoughts of making an effort to improve their condition. It is true that this subject made some noise in the universities a few years since ; but that excitement ceased with the abolition of the secret societies ; and at the present time, no one thinks of opening his mouth upon it. A powerful cause will produce no greater effect here, than one of a feeble character in France. Such a burst of national feeling as has recently been seen there, at the death of General Foy, will probably never be witnessed in this country, unless some great event should agitate the public mind. French blood is too hot, and too rapid in its movements to allow them to remain tranquil; and if they do not act, they will at least talk. This too they do in a manner which often excited my surprise. At *table d'hôtes*, in diligences, and in private circles, the proceedings of government are discussed with a freedom not surpassed by any thing in our political debates. The only latitude we enjoy that the French do not, is our liberty of speaking and writing as we please of the President of the United States, while they are compelled publicly to speak and write respectfully of the king. In private circles, however, they call him a *bête*, and a *cochon*. Nothing of this kind is heard here. If the monarch is ever alluded to, it is to pass an eulogium on some act of his life, or at the most to express a hope that he would pursue a different course.

LETTER VIII.

BERLIN, 1826.

The present king, Frederick William III, is a very unostentatious monarch. In this respect, and in this only, his feelings are republican. His carriage is very plain, inferior to most of those you meet on the promenades, and to many of those you hire to carry you about the city. It is usually drawn by two horses, and he rides without any person to accompany him, except one of the officers of the army, or of his palace. Charles X. and the sovereigns of Italy always appear in public, preceded and followed by a company of forty or fifty of the *garde du corps*, who make a passage with their drawn swords, through the carriages, carts, donkies, and pedestrians that crowded the streets. The palace in which he resides is destitute of all beauty, and though somewhat larger is less imposing, in its exterior, than many of the houses of our Boston merchants. The royal palace, where the Crown Prince resides, when seen at a distance, is very grand, and one of the most magnificent in Europe; but like most of the public edifices of the north, when examined more minutely it is found to be very deficient in architectural symmetry. The king from his great dislike of pomp and parade, has resigned his residence to his son, who has occupied it since his marriage. Frederick and his sons mingle in most of the public amusements, in the balls, masquerades, festivals, promenades, &c. divesting themselves of all that formality which is not indispensable to their station. The monarch is represented as being very amiable in his private character, and as such he is beloved by his subjects, so far as they have an opportunity of beholding him in his familiar relations. Had he fulfilled the promise which he made, and given them a constitution he would now be universally beloved.

After the battle of Jena, Frederick William was deprived of

most of his dominions, and during the six following years, his crown was at the mercy of Napoleon. When the remnants of the French army were retreating from Russia, he called upon his people to arm in defence of their rights and to work out their own deliverance. He spoke to them of national freedon and liberty, and these words so dear to man when bowing beneath a foreign yoke, roused the spirits of his subjects. With a devotion to their monarch which has hardly a parallel in the history of the world, they prepared for the combat. Clergymen, lawyers, physicians, citizens, noblemen, and peasants, left their homes, repaired to the places of rendezvous, and enrolled themselves in his service. There they chose their officers, and the noble and the peasant animated by the same spirit, entered the ranks and marched to join their sovereign. To drive the enemy from their country, over which he had so long tyrannised, and to restore their king to his capital and to the palace of his ancestors, they advanced to the conflict. To them victory was a triumph, as it conferred honour on their monarch, and as it gave him back his dominions; and defeat was only a stronger motive to make every sacrifice in his cause. He published to his subjects that he was destitute of the means to carry on the struggle; and they offered him their property with the same generous devotion. No sacrifices were too dear, no efforts too great, for them to make in such a cause. Property, national existence, life, they freely risked for their king; believing that when he talked to them of freedom, he intended to bestow it, and that when he called them his people, he felt the affection implied in the name. After a succession of victories unequalled by any thing in the history of Prussia, since the death of the great Frederick, they bore their monarch in triumph into the capital of France. After so noble a devotion to his interests, they had a right to anticipate the gratitude of their sovereign. His heart was doubtless touched in some degree, and at the Congress of Vienna, through his minister, Count Hardenberg, he promised a constitution to his people. This he declared not to them merely, but to the world; and as they still believe, with the sincere intention of giving it. Ten years have rolled away since this declaration was made, and not a step has yet been taken towards fulfilling his promise. The millions of parents, and brothers, and sisters, who

encouraged their sons and their brothers, when the cry of freedom animated every Prussian's heart, to gird on the sword for the defence of their king, have long looked for this promised blessing in vain. Those who died in this glorious struggle, were at first mourned as those whose death had been instrumental in restoring the king to his throne, and liberty to the nation. The soldiers who survived and returned to their country counted all their sacrifices as nothing, in defence of a sovereign, who was to elevate his people to the rank of freemen. But years have elapsed, and nothing has been done; years will probably roll away, before they receive this blessing. Every Prussian now feels that his sacrifices were useless, and worse than useless, for facts tell him in a language that cannot be misunderstood, that he fought for empty words. The taxes which he now pays to support an arbitrary government: the recollection of a son or brother who fell in the hour of victory; even the national monuments that he beholds, all remind him that he has been deceived, that the dream of liberty which inspired him, was a fairy structure, based only on the promises of their king. "We fought, we bled, we sacrificed our all for our monarch," said a very distinguished Prussian to me; "and our reward was tyranny and taxation."

This promise of Frederick William, was made to millions of men, who had shown themselves worthy of being free. It was a boon to be given not to them merely, but to succeeding generations. It was to remain, like the Magna Charta to Englishmen, and the Declaration of Independence to Americans; a monument of the heroic valour of their ancestors, and a blessing to posterity, through the progress of time. It was to raise them to the proud rank of freemen, to break the fetters which had so long shackled the mind, and to give them their proper place among the nations. That the Prussians should feel an intense regret at this disappointment of their fondest hopes, can not be surprising to us; that they should have patiently waited more than ten years for this blessing, without seizing their arms and obtaining it by force, can only be accounted for by the consideration, that they are far less prompt to resist oppression than Englishmen or Americans. Such a forbearance on their part, ought to furnish an additional motive to the monarch for complying with his promise. We instinctively

look upon a man who defrauds another of his property, as destitute of moral principle. But, in this case, every Prussian is defrauded of a right, compared with which, property is a bubble. The death of the present monarch will, probably, destroy every hope of acquiring this invaluable treasure. No subsequent king will consider this promise as binding upon himself; and, unless the people demand its fulfilment, with arms in their hands, they may never become free until all the present despotisms of Europe are prostrated.

The reigning monarch is, in many respects, an estimable man, yet such a breach of principle does this single fact exhibit, that I find it impossible to respect him.* His friends and admirers justify him on this ground. Prussia, they say, has Russia on one side and Austria on the other. As those powers are opposed to constitutional governments, he would probably meet on their part with not a little resistance, and perhaps have to encounter a long war which he would find it very difficult to sustain. Allowing this argument all its weight, is he still justified? I am fully aware of the colossal power of the Czar, as well as of the resources which the fertile plains of Austria afford, to equip and sustain her armies: I am equally aware that a nation of half a million of soldiers, which Prussian enthusiasm, in such a contest, would soon increase to a million, when contending for a monarch who who was compelled to draw his sword in defence of their liberties, could never be conquered. Frederick the Great, with but little more than one-sixth of the subjects of the present king, sustained a long war against the united forces of Russia, Austria, and France, and rose superior to them all. If he could withstand these three powers, and terminate the contest with triumph, it requires very little faith to believe that Prussia could now defend herself. But there is no reason to believe that they would thus oppose him, as Nicholas, the present emperor, is the son-in-law

* I have been asked repeatedly since my return, "is not Frederick William a man of piety; I see that many of the letters written in Germany, and published in our papers, speak of him as a Christian in heart, as well as in name." To every such inquirer, I can only say, that when he has proved himself to be an honest man, by giving his subjects the freedom he promised them, he can call himself a Christian with a better face than at present.

of Frederick William, and the cabinets of Petersburgh and Berlin are now closely allied. Alexander gave a constitution to his Polish subjects, and the Russian government could not with any plausible pretext declare war against Prussia. Many of the sovereigns of the German states have already given constitutions to their people. Hanover, Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, have done this; the latter country too bordering upon Austria. Besides, Prussia could say to Austria, "so long as Hungary retains her constitution, and has her regular sessions of parliament, I shall suffer no interference;" and from Austria alone she has nothing to fear. But if she must be attacked, I know of no rule in a case of this kind but this: *fiat justitia, ruat cælum.* Even supposing that Prussia would fall in such a struggle, which is only among the number of the most remote possibilities, and that the king must lose his crown; the consciousness that he had lost it in so noble a cause, would be almost an equivalent to the personal sacrifice it would cost him. It would be preferable to walking the streets of his capital and feeling that he was robbing every subject he passed of his rights; or to reclining on his couch with the thought when he closed his eyes, that he would be held up to future ages as a monument of injustice and ingratitude. How much more desirable to be an exile from his throne, with a soul calm and serene, and a heart animated by the thought that he possessed the sympathy of every virtuous mind; and with the consciousness, that not a prayer would ascend to Heaven from his native land, that would not bear with it supplications for blessings on himself and his family, through time and through eternity.

The first wife of the king, Louisa of Mecklenburg Strelitz, was a woman of most estimable character. She was very much beloved by her subjects; and, although fifteen years have elapsed since her death, they still speak of her with great affection and veneration. From her decease in July, 1810, until November, 1824, the king mourned for her with a feeling rarely seen in royal families. He loved her intensely; and, in all his mifortunes, he found her sympathy and fortitude his greatest support. She had been almost the idol of his people; and rarely has the death of a queen covered a nation with deeper mourning. In a journey to Vienna, some time since, he met, either in that city, or on his way thither, the

countess of Harrach, the daughter of an Austrian count of that name, a nobleman of limited resources, and, in no respect, distinguished. This young lady made a deep impression on the heart of the monarch, who, after some time, solicited her hand of the father. To marry one's daughter to a king, is in Europe an affair so important to any family not royal, that you will easily believe an affirmative answer was given. The negotiation was carried on and completed, without the knowledge of the nation, or even of his family. In November, 1824, the father and daughter arrived in this city, and took lodgings at one of the principal hotels. After they had been here about a week, the crown prince received a note from the king, requesting him to meet him in the palace at Charlottenburg. On his arrival there, he was introduced to the young lady as his future mother-in-law. The marriage was immediately solemnized by one of the court preacher. With the exception of the crown prince, no one of his children was present, nor received the least information of the transaction while in progress. The annunciation of this marriage to the royal family, and to the nation, was like a clap of thunder. The daughters of the king, who all happened to be in Berlin at the time, wept with all that copiousness of tears, which so humiliating an alliance would cause to flow. The Berliners say, that Charlotte, now the wife of Nicholas, wept from *Wehmuth*, sadness; that Louisa, the wife of Prince William of Holland, wept from *Stolz*, pride; and that Alexandrine, the present grand duchess of Mecklenburg Schwerin, wept from *Dummheit*, stupidity.

This left-handed marriage,* as those are called when there is a great difference between the rank of the parties, astonished the inhabitants of the capital quite as much as the family of the monarch. They amused themselves with cracking jokes on their sovereign for some time afterwards, in private circles; and, had they not feared an abode at Koepnic, they would have let out their

* This is what the Germans call a *Morgantische Ehe*, matrimonium ad morganaticam. In such marriages the children can not inherit the rights of the father. They are without title, unless the monarch gives them one, and they do not inherit the property of the father if he has any other children. It is usually the custom for him to give them their portion during his life. Such marriages are not very unfrequent in Prussia.

humour in caricatures. The monarch soon gave her the title of princess of Liegnitz, settled upon her a very handsome allowance, and did every thing in his power to elevate her to the rank of queen. She is now about twenty-five years of age; and, although not distinguished for her beauty, has a better face than most of her sex. She is apparently very modest, and is far from being elated by this sudden transition from the daughter of a poor count, to the wife of a king of twelve millions of subjects. With the inhabitants of the city she is popular; but they will never cease to feel, that their monarch, who once could boast of Louisa for his wife, has lessened his dignity by this left-handed marriage with a mere countess. The Germans estimate blood very much, as jewellers do diamond; and, when it has arrived at the purity of royalty, it surpasses every thing terrestrial in value. Though the wife of the king, she is always preceded by the crown princess, and by the daughters of the monarch. I have seen her at several balls, where she took the third or fourth place; for left-handed marriages do not entitle the lady, thus raised, to the rank of her husband. Whenever she appears in public, she is compelled to submit to these disagreeable marks of inferiority; and, judging from her countenance, she is far from being happy. At the Polonaise,* she is usually led out by some one of the nobility connected with the court. When the Duke of Wellington was here, after he had polonaised with the crown princess and the duchess of Mecklenburg, he presented his hand to the princess of Leignitz. The Berlin papers, in describing that festival, say, "that the duke had the honour to dance with her." If future historians should describe Wellington's expedition to Russia, they will probably commence this sentence with her name.

The Duke of Wellington stopped here, on his way to St. Petersburg, and remained nearly a week. I had many opportunities of seeing him at the review of the royal guard, and at a ball, at which the king and all the royal family, the court, the foreign ministers, and about fifteen hundred of the nobility were present; as well as on his arrival. He carries about with him an older face than any man, of his age, I have ever seen, appearing from sixty-eight to seventy years of age, although he was born in 1769. As he was made a field-marshal of Prussia by Frederick William,

soon after the battle of Waterloo, and as he still receives his pay as such an officer, he appeared at the parade in the uniform of the Prussian army, riding on the left of the king. He looks very little like a warrior, and rides more like one unaccustomed to the saddle, than as a commander-in-chief, who directed the armies of the Peninsula for many years. To his exposure during that contest, as well as to the debilitating effects of the climate of India, where he resided for a long time, we are to impute this premature look of physical old age. The king, who was born in the year 1770, has still much of the freshness of youth; his flushed and plump cheek, indicating a much more temperate life than the faces and persons of most of the monarchs of Europe. The Duke has so conspicuous a nose, as to lead any one to believe that he is a descendant of the celebrated stranger, whose arrival in Strasburg caused such a contest among the professors of the university. He was received, on his arrival, with very little enthusiasm. When Blucher went to England, he was drawn in his carriage by the mob, and cheered to his heart's content; while here, not a hat was raised, nor a mouth opened, to greet the duke when he alighted. As he entered the ball-room, where every eye was fixed upon him, not a handkerchief was waved, not a bow, or a curtesy, made to welcome him. It is true, that some of the ladies near the end of the ball-room, rose as he entered, but this was more the "wondrous man to see," than to compliment him; for they resumed their seats as he advanced near them. The comparative frigid sensibility of the Prussians will explain this want of enthusiasm. They have as much as any nation when they are once roused; but, like a lake imbosomed in mountains, it requires a tornado to agitate its surface. At the opening of the ball, he polonaised* with the crown princess, then with the duchess of Mecklenberg, who was visiting her father, afterwards with the princess of Liegnitz. The ball was very brilliant, not in the beauty, but in the dresses of the ladies; and the music was probably never surpassed since the days of Orpheus.

* A polonaise is a Polish dance, half way between a walk and a dance. It is now so fashionable in Germany, that most balls are opened in this manner. A gentleman takes the hand of his partner, and walks with her about the ball room. They are often followed by hundreds, who then form strait or serpentine lines. This dance usually continues about ten minutes.

No one who is a stranger to Berlin, or who has not listened to the Austrian bands, can form an idea of the perfection which instrumental music has attained in this country. The Germans are inferior to the Italians in singing, as the humid winters of the north produce too many colds to admit of that perfection of voice, which you so often hear with delight, south of the Alps. But, though inferior to the Italians, they very much surpass the French, and, I believe, all northern nations, in vocal music. They have a greater passion for music than any nation of Europe, not even excepting the Italians. It is made not merely an accomplishment, but a study; indeed, a part of their existence. To be able to play on some instrument, is almost as necessary, in the opinion of many of the students, as to understand Homer or Euripides, and not a small number of them are able performers on the flute, the guitar, and the piano-forte. Many of the gentlemen whom I have seen, can play with great taste and feeling, and some of them so well, that were they to lose their fortunes, their musical talents would insure them a competence. They usually commence the study of music at a very early period, often at six, eight, or ten years of age, and, by continual practice, arrive at an excellence of which we know nothing in the United States. Even the peasants, in some parts of Germany, particularly in south-eastern Saxony, and in several districts of Bohemia, pass many a leisure hour with the guitar or piano for their companions. Music thus becomes a prominent topic of conversation, and the different style of the composition is as well understood as that of their authors or artists. Every large city supports many bands of musicians for its concerts, theatres, balls, &c., and the smaller towns have one or more. In most of the towns there are a number of singing boys, wholly or partially maintained by the citizens, who sing at funerals and at public worship; and, although their sacred music is inferior to the *Miserere* of Allegri, a native of Rome would often listen to them with the greatest pleasure. This subject occupies as much of the conversation, and is as interesting to the Germans, as political discussions are to our countrymen. The scientific manner in which they discourse upon it, is as surprising to an American, as the bold expression of our political sentiments would be to a German. This land has thus become, above all others, the land of melody.

Music is a subject of consequence, not merely to the common people, but to every government and monarch of Germany. To have the finest opera in his capital, is a source of almost as much pleasure to the sovereign, as the possession of the best *garde du corps* of Europe. The number of strangers who winter in the metropolis, and still more that of foreigners, depends not a little on the character of the opera. You frequently hear travellers in this country remarking, "I shall pass the winter in such a place, as the opera is very fine there." To give the greatest reputation to their operas, the monarchs often invite the most distinguished musical composers to their capitals, and pension them. This department is placed entirely under their direction, and by them the preparations for a new opera are made. Painters, tailors, mantuamakers, the orchestra, are all set in motion, and after expending from twenty to thirty thousand rix dollars, it is presented to the public. Should it succeed, and have a run of twenty or thirty nights, it will principally repay the expense of getting it up; if not, the government or the monarch makes up the deficiency. In addition to the opera, there are numerous concerts which are patronised by the court, the nobility, the royal family, and at the religious festivals the most celebrated pieces of Handel, Hayden, and others are performed. Composers who arrive at eminence, become not unfrequently the favourites of monarchs, are elevated by them to the rank of noblemen, and receive from them much more substantial favours. In the eyes of the majority of the nation, they are persons of more importance than any who fill the professional departments, or the chairs of the university. When their pieces are performed, they are often called upon the stage by the applauding assembly, from whom they receive the strongest marks of approbation. As music is thus encouraged, men of the first talents embark in this profession, and to arrive at eminence is the summit of all their wishes. They are admitted into almost every society, and even the singers when they rise to the first class, are often met in the most fashionable circles. Most of the musicians who have visited our country from the continent, are the fifth and sixth rate performers here, and who, unable to procure subsistence at home, cross the Atlantic in quest of their bread.

The Germans admire their national music much more than that of any other country, and assert that the operas of Mozart, Gluck, and Weber, make far more powerful impressions on the heart, than those of Italy. They complain of the Italian operas as destitute of deep feeling, as agitating only the surface of the heart, while those of their own country awaken every passion. They compare the former in their effects to the tragedies of Cornneile and Racine; and their own to those of Shakspeare. This I believe is true, when you speak of the operas of Mozart, whose Don Juan, and Magic Flute, exhibit much of the deep passions and creative power of Hamlet, and the Midsummer's Night Dream. There are however in the best operas of Italy, *il Matrimonio Segreto* of Cimarosa, and *Nina, osia la pazza per amore* of Paisiello for example, a melody and a depth of passion, which to my feelings are overpowering. If to the music of that country "plants and flowers do not ever spring" as to that of Orpheus, there is an animation, a sprightliness, a melodious voluptuousness, which remind you, to say the least, of the mighty power of the fabled musician. The Germans, *me judice*, are more distinguished for their military music, their waltzes, and their airs, than for their operas, those of Mozart excepted. Of these there is a great variety, many of which are so inspiring, that no one who has once listened to them, can derive much enjoyment from those we are accustomed to hear in the United States, or even from those played by the royal bands of Paris. In Germany, their military music is performed with such taste and perfection of time, that when fifty or eighty musicians are playing, you could believe that you are listening to a single instrument of mighty power, embracing every variety of sound. The Austrian bands which I have often heard in the Tyrol, in Lombardy, Tuscany and Naples, commanded universal admiration, and the Romans who pride themselves on being the first instrumental performers of Italy, acknowledged their own inferiority. I have seen in Florence between two and three thousand persons of every class of society, when listening to an Austrian band, kept in breathless silence for fifteen or twenty minutes, and then breaking forth into one burst of applause, that filled the Pergola with thunder. This was repeated again and again, during the concert, until the assembly was almost as much fatigued with their muscular and

oral exercise, as the musicians with their performance. "The Austrian band has arrived," seemed to the Florentines the most important event in their horizon; and, although they hated that nation, and called them asses, they acknowledged that their music was heavenly, and almost divine. The instrumental music of the Prussian army is equal to that of the Austrians, and the bands of the royal guard are superior to any I have yet heard in Europe. To hear them perform, it is worth a travellers coming much out of his way, for he will find that they have attained the same perfection in music, as the artists who formed the Venus and the Apollo had in sculpture. The best performers from these bands were selected to play at the ball at which Wellington was present. I felt then, as has often been the case since my arrival here, that the beau ideal of music had become a reality in this country; I seemed to be living in a world of melody.

The best composer now living in Germany, is Beethoven, who resides at Vienna. At the age of thirteen, he began to compose music, and, at twenty, went to Vienna, where he studied with Mozart. The Germans esteem him the most distinguished musical genius of Europe, except Mozart, whom they declare to be as much superior to every other, as Shakspeare to every other dramatic author. He has written but one opera, *Fidelio*, which has not met with great success. Among his pieces, the most celebrated are his Symphonies, which are universally admired, Jesus am Oelberge, (Jesus on the mount of Olives), Adelaide, Fancy Pieces, Rondo en Ut, Quartetten, Clavier Sonaten, Trauer March, &c. The last of these, as a display of grief at the funeral of a hero, is equal to any thing within my knowledge. Every note seems to be a burst of lamentation and woe. When reading Shakspeare, or Goethe's Faust, you will find nothing more eloquent than this music. To be able to compose it, it would seem as necessary that the mind should be as completely abstracted from the world around it, and as perfectly absorbed in the subject of its pieces, as the former with the characters of his plays, or the latter with the human heart and spiritual world. He is the Byron of music, and his compositions show an equal power of passion to that found in Childe Harold, in Cain, or in Manfred. Strange as

it may seem, this composer is so deaf, that no music strikes his ear, besides the loud swell of the military bands, or that of the orchestra. He reads it, however, as a poet would read Macbeth, and finds in its perusal as powerful eloquence, and as intense pleasure.

The other celebrated musical composers are Weber, the director of the opera at Dresden, Spontini of that of this city, and Spohr of that of Cassel. The Freishütz of the former gives its author a rank among the first composers, at least if we are to rate its merit by its very great success. His other operas, Euryanthe and Preziosa, have not had the same success, though the latter is very much admired. The music of Spontini is more adapted to the parade than to the opera house, which it fills with thunder. He has his admirers here, and his pieces, particularly Ferdinand Cortez, attract a full house. As he is director of the opera, he introduces his own music quite as often as the inhabitants of this city wish, and much more frequently than strangers desire, who are not by a long residence, accustomed to his thundering strains.

LETTER IX.

Berlin, 1826.

A ride of two or three hours from Berlin, brings you to Potsdam, the famous residence of the great Frederick. Though Frederick William I. and II. expended large sums in adorning this city, still it is indebted for most of its beauty to Frederick the Great. The town has lost much of the bustle and activity formerly seen here, though still containing near five and twenty thousand inhabitants. Its streets are very solitary, and were it not for the royal guard, a part of which is always stationed here, it would present much of the tranquillity of a village. Few sounds are indeed heard, except the swell of the Prussian bands, which fill the air with their thrilling music, and the loud word of command coming from mouths covered with mustaches, in all the harshness of German gutturals. The royal chateau within the city is the residence of the present monarch when he visits Potsdam, which he rarely does, as Charlottenberg, small as it is, is a palace more in unison with his taste. The regularity, beauty, and neatness of this city, in which respects it is only inferior to Berlin, have never made it a favourite country residence of the inhabitants of the metropolis. Its population belongs almost exclusively to that class who obtain their bread by becoming subservient to the wants of others; and as those whom they serve are principally soldiers, there is very little here to attract foreigners.

Frederick the Great, not liking the palace within the town, determined, after the conclusion of the seven years' war, to erect one where he should be less exposed to observation, and where he might pursue his studies with less interruption. He accordingly selected the hill and grounds back of the Brandenburg gate, on which he erected the palaces, making the Sanssouci his favourite abode. With the exception of one of the winter months passed at Berlin, this was his constant residence, when not engaged in

war, or travelling in his provinces. If he did not succeed in making a Versailles of Potsdam, which his limited resources would not allow, he has shown much more taste than Louis XIV. with all his immense expenditure and magnificence. These palaces are situated in a beautiful garden, where the trees are allowed to grow in all the luxuriance of nature, without any fear of the shears and pruning knife, instruments which in the west of Europe punish every daring twig and branch for their temerity. Here are no walls of green between which you walk, as in the streets of a city, bounding the view by their foliage, except at the ends of the avenues; no trees so completely altered by trimming, as to remind you of the skill of the perruquier: but serpentine walks, presenting you at every turn a new view, groves inviting you to linger under their shade, while on the verdant grass beneath them you feel disposed to recline, and dream over the days of your boyhood. To give it as far as possible a classic appearance, he has adorned the garden and the distant hills with several Grecian ruins, not more appropriate here than they would be in the prairies of Illinois.

In the palace of Sanssouci, the guide still points out to you the room in which Frederick slept and died, with all the articles of furniture necessary to the king and the literary student; as well as the gallery in which he walked, and the clock, which he tells you with a most serious face, stopped the very moment the sovereign died. This, in Italy, would have been imputed to the influence of the Virgin, or of some Saint; but here, the negligence of the servants to wind it up during the sickness of their master, will be a sufficient explanation. I entered his library with great pleasure, feeling no little curiosity to see the taste of this literary monarch. It remains in precisely the same state in which he left it at his death. It is small, containing less than a thousand volumes. He had four other libraries exactly like this, one of which was at the Palace in Potsdam, one in Berlin, another at Charlottenberg, and a fourth at his palace near Breslau. My knowledge of his love of French literature, led me to anticipate finding most of the works in that language, but I was surprised to discover that the authors of every other had been excluded, not excepting those of his own country. An Englishman would hardly forgive him for

not admitting Shakspeare and Milton to stand by the side of Racine and Corneille; but to his ear nothing was poetical which did not jingle in French verse. As he despised the poetry of Germany, and believed that the richest language of Europe was not susceptible of becoming poetical, one must excuse him for not appreciating the merits of our great poets, of whose works he was ignorant. In his library I did not discover even a German translation of a foreign writer. His countrymen of the present day, censure him very severely for the low estimate he formed of their language and literature, and think that his strong prejudices in favour of the works of French authors, and against those of his country, were not only very unpatriotic, but that they did much to prevent their best writers from acquiring that influence over the nation which they merited. He entertained so contemptuous an opinion of the euphony of his own language, that he proposed to soften its asperities by terminating every word with a vowel, in order to give it the Italian melody; little dreaming what poetical perfection it was capable of acquiring, when rendered harmonious by such minds as Goethe, Wieland, and Schiller. He was, however, in some measure excusable for his low opinion of German poetry, for until the latter part of his reign, this country had produced no poet deserving national fame. The great influence of this monarch, gave a popularity to French literature throughout the north of Germany, and for years the nation was almost as unwilling as Frederick to read any thing which did not appear in a French costume. Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, and Lessing, broke this charm, and some years before the death of Frederick, the nation began to suspect, that the king of Prussia was not as invincible in the republic of letters, as on the field of battle. The taste for English literature arose about this time, and it was not a little increased by the criticisms of Lessing, Herder, and others. Frederick, whose mind had been formed in the school of French literature, and who was more vain of his critical than of his military talent, could not have been expected, in his old age, to change those opinions which had been strengthening for more than half a century. He accordingly went to his grave, confident in the belief that the literature of his own and every other modern language, except the French, was unworthy of his perusal. He was very

desirous that his capital should become an intellectual rival of Paris, and for this purpose he re-organized the Academy of Sciences and Belle-lettres of Berlin. This academy had been established by queen Charlotte, the second wife of Frederick the First, and the celebrated Leibnitz was chosen its first president. Neither that monarch, nor his son Frederick William the First, felt interest enough in literature to place it on a firm foundation; and when Frederick the Great ascended the throne, it can hardly be said to have existed. As he did not speak his native tongue very correctly, it is not surprising, with his prejudices in favour of the French, that he should have required all memoirs to be written, or at least, published in that language. He chose a Frenchman, the celebrated mathematician and philosopher Maupertuis, its director and modeller, and invited many of his countrymen to Berlin, whom he pensioned. Had Frederick endeavoured to excite the literary ardour of his countrymen at this period, he would have succeeded in the formation of a national literature. Greater effects would have resulted from his patronage, than even from that of Louis the Fourteenth, and he would have soon discovered that German poetry is as much superior to the French, as the language surpasses that of France in richness and flexibility. He found, however, that it was as difficult to transform Germans into Frenchmen, as to make the plants of a southern clime become indigenous in the sands and cold regions of the north; and, after all his efforts and expenditures, Berlin was but a faint reflection of Paris. His exertions kept alive for many years a partial taste for the literature of France, but soon after his death, it ceased even in the metropolis, the inhabitants of which now regard him as having been the greatest obstacle to a national literature that has ever existed in Germany.

In his library you see French translations of Homer, Thucidides, Herodotus, Plutarch, Sallust, Virgil, Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, Cæsar, &c.; the works of the principal French Dramatists; those of Bossuet, Montesquieu, Flechier, Voltaire, Boyle, Rousseau, &c. Leaving the library the guide conducts you through a succession of rooms which do not merit much observation, to that which Voltaire occupied, when he was a guest of the monarch. His table, his bed, and even the peg on which his perruque was suspended, are the

objects he now points out to you as particularly worthy of observation. The new palace, about three-fourths of a mile from Sanssouci, is much superior to the latter in architecture; and notwithstanding its depth of window, it has one of the finest façades in Europe. Like the other public edifices in this part of Prussia, it is built of brick, a material unworthy of so large a building. Had it been placed where Sanssouci now stands, it would have added very much to the distant view. It is at the termination of the garden, over most of which one might easily roam, without being conscious of its existence, so entirely is it obscured by the lofty trees which rise near it. The great gate leading to it, with its semicircular sweep of columns, is the noblest entrance to a garden I have seen in Europe.

The political importance of Prussia has been surprisingly augmented during the last ninety years. Frederick the First, the Elector of Brandenberg and Duke of Prussia, inherited the possessions of his brother in the year 1688. His vanity led him in 1701 to assume the title of king Prussia, when he took the name of Frederick the First. Frederick William the First succeeded his father in 1713, and reigned until 1740. At his death he left to his son, Frederick the Great, two millions two hundred and forty thousand subjects, including his army of 70,000 men, and a territory of 2,190 German square miles. Frederick II. at the beginning of his reign, laid claim to the duchies of Glogau and Sagan, which Maria Theresa rejecting, the first Silesian war was the consequence. This was succeeded by others, in which the Prussian king acquired not only the reputation of being the first general of the age, but his conquests, and the division of Poland, elevated his kingdom to the second rank of European states in population. The admirable system of discipline which he introduced in his army, and the economy which pervaded every department, of his administration, soon raised Prussia, in resources and power, to the first rank among the European kingdoms. His subjects, at his death, had increased from less than two and a half to six millions, and his army to two hundred thousand men: while his treasury contained seventy millions of rix dollars. No monarch ever ascended the throne under more favourable auspices than his nephew and successor, Frederick William II. The short war in Holland in 1788,

and that on the Rhine in the early part of the French revolution, and the equally short campaign in Poland in 1794 and 95, and above all, his extravagance, so diminished his resources, that at his death, he had not only dissipated the treasures amassed by his uncle, but left the nation a debt of eighteen millions of rix dollars.

Since the peace of Paris, Prussia has greatly extended its territory and population. The accession of the Rhine provinces and Saxon Prussia, have added to its extent 1270 square miles, or a quarter of its present territory, and to its population more than 4,250,000 inhabitants. In 1818 it contained 10,790,000 inhabitants; in 1822, 11,664,000; and in 1824, 12,003,810. Its present territory is 5,018 German square miles, each of which is between twenty-one and twenty-two English. Prussia is now the fourth power on the continent in population; and although she is not able, single handed, to make any conquests from the other three, she would become a formidable ally to either of them. The great extent of this kingdom, however, is an essential evil; as Russia bounds her eastern border, Austria a part of the southern, France and Holland on the west; to say nothing of the smaller German states which lie contiguous. Thus almost surrounded by nations, the smallest of which, with the exception of Holland, has more than double her population, she is under the necessity of maintaining a very large army to be in readiness for every emergency. Her situation is doubly dangerous from her division into two parts, which are separated from each other by the states of Hanover, Hesse Cassel, and Brunswick. This division, and the length of the narrow province of East Prussia, so much increase the extent of her boundary, that in the event of war with any two of these powers, she would be compelled to augment her present army to an amount sufficient to cover her line with troops. With but little more than one-third of the population of France, her present boundary is seven hundred miles greater. With the exception of Sweden and Denmark, there is no kingdom in Europe which has so extensive a border in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, and except Portugal, there is none which nature has made so difficult to defend.

The situation of Prussia is rendered still more unfortunate by the heterogenous character of her population. Her subjects are spread through the Rhine provinces, through Prussia Proper, and through

Prussian Poland. The Rhine provinces on the western part of Prussia, contain more than three millions of inhabitants. Although purely Germans, they have been for so short a period subjects of the present monarch, that they have not yet begun to feel like Prussians, and I believe are very far from being gratified with their incorporation. During the reign of Napoleon, the Rhine was the great avenue of commerce for the western part of Germany. The free navigation of that river awakened the enterprise of those countries which border it; and their wealth, instead of lying dormant, was brought into circulation. This noble stream was then covered with vessels, and every class of society, from the nobleman to the peasant, felt the auspicious influence of free navigation. The restraints imposed by the Prussian government, on the navigation of the Rhine, have withered all enterprise. Their taxes are now much heavier than during the continental struggle, while their means of paying them are very much diminished. This ridiculous and narrow-sighted policy has rendered the monarch as unpopular in these provinces as he was in 1815, when they were united to his kingdom; and so long as it continues, there is no reason to believe that the inhabitants will acquire a national character. As this part of Prussia is separated from the eastern, the king would probably lose in the first war with France three millions of his subjects, and who, at the present time, would much prefer being united to that country, than to remain, under such circumstances, even the subjects of a German prince. More than two-thirds of the population of these provinces are Catholics; and though neither ignorant nor superstitious, like the Austrians, they are still much attached to their religion. In a war with France, this feeling would have not a little influence in favour of that country. From Paris to Cologne, the centre of these provinces, the distance in a straight line is not so great, by sixty miles, as from Berlin to that city. The Prussian metropolis, too, is situated not more than one hundred and twenty miles from the western boundary to the eastern part of Prussia. As most of the population of this division are east of the capital, it would be necessary for the king of Prussia to march his troops from a great distance, and to carry on such a war under great disadvantages. Prussian officers, inflated with the recollection of the victories gained during the late contest, will say

to you, as they have often done to me, that it is easy to defend their country against the French; but every other German will admit its difficulty without hesitation.

The eastern division of Prussia, viz. East Prussia, and the Polish provinces, is bounded by the dominions of the Czar. Against this most powerful enemy, Frederick William would find it very difficult to oppose such a force as would protect a frontier, of between five and six hundred miles. Were he secure of the attachment of all his subjects, he might trust to his army and *Landwehr*, as a sufficient barrier against the Autocrat. But this part of his dominions is inhabited principally by his Polish subjects, who feel very little attachment to their monarch, less even than those who live on the Rhine. To reconcile the Russian Poles to his government, Alexander gave them a constitution, which has at least, made them tolerably satisfied with their present situation, as they have long since despaired of seeing Poland again take her rank among the nations. The king of Prussia, on the other hand, nothwithstanding his promise twelve years since, to give his German subjects a constitution, has not given one even to Prussian Poland. As they cannot avoid contrasting their situation with their brethren, they feel but little affection for their king. In the event of a war with Russia, they might be very easily prevailed upon to join the latter power, especially if they were promised that such an union, should place them upon the same footing with their countrymen in Russia.

The cession of a large part of Saxony to Prussia at the Congress of Vienna, has re-awakened the hostility which the Saxons formerly felt towards that kingdom, but which after the death of Frederick the Great, had nearly subsided. This breaking up of bonds which intermarriages their institutions, and their history had rendered so dear, has made the king of Prussia more unpopular in Saxony, than any monarch of Europe. The government of the latter country, has for many years, and almost for ages been so mild and so enlightened, that the Saxons have long felt an enthusiastic attachment to their sovereign. The Saxon Prussians, in addition to these evils, are now compelled to pay much heavier taxes tham their brethren in Saxony; and at the present time they are no more reconciled to this union, than when it took place. In case of a

war with Austria, if they do not join against the Prussian monarch they will not feel much enthusiasm in his favour.

Berlin appears more like a military city than any other I have seen in Europe. The royal guard, which consists of twenty thousand men, is principally quartered here, the remainder being at Potsdam. This body of troops, with the young men in the military schools of which there are a number, presents a continued succession of uniforms to the eye of a stranger. As in these times of peace the officers have an abundance of leisure, every promenade, theatre, and ball room, are gay with plumes, epaulets, swords, and lace. Wherever you go, they appear in such numbers, that one would almost believe himself in a garrisoned town. In society you sometimes see half the gentlemen in uniform. In every other country in Europe, if I mistake not, the officers of the army except when on duty, are clad in a civil costume. In Paris, in London, and every where else unless in Berlin, it would be thought a great want of etiquette, for an officer to appear at a soirée or ball, in the same dress as when he drilled his troops in the morning. This, however, here passes for *la mode* and in every circle where you meet them, they are thus arrayed. The king wishing to impress his subjects with his power, or perhaps from a passion for plumes and swords, has ordered that they shall not lay aside their uniforms, except on two or three occasions during the year. The cavalry officers always appear in society in boots and spurs. Notwithstanding this last appendage, they whirl round with the young Berlin mademoiselles in the waltz, with a dexterity surprising to one who is not born in a waltzing land. Their spurs, which are very large, make a continual rattling, greatly annoying the ears of one who is listening to the music, and often threatening the muslins and silks which surround them.

The, troops as well as the officers, are picked men, and are very tall, well clad, and perform their evolutions with great exactness. The desire of having tall men in the army, especially in the guard, seems to have been universal with the monarchs of Prussia. Frederick William I. entertained such a predilection for them, that whenever he saw men of more than the ordinary stature, he had them kidnapped at once. When he appeared in the streets, the inhabitants concealed themselves, for the large men were sure of being seized

for his guard, while the smaller answered for garrison regiments. The same feeling was manifested by Frederick the Great and by his nephew. The present king by the existing mode of organizing the army, can not present one hundred thousand men of equal length with the armies of his ancestors, still he can boast of having the tallest *garde du corps* of Europe, of which he is not a little proud. The king and his sons appear in uniform, unless on particular occasions, and conform even to the German custom of wearing the cloth cap, so universal among the officers, the students, and the rabble of the city. Its crown is not more than two inches in height, with a red band around it, and a slight projection to shelter the eyes from the sun. It is the most unmilitary ornament that ever was fabricated, and would not be endured in any other country.

To us it appears surprising how the European armies can be sustained. The paltry force of ten thousand is more than we are willing to support in the time of peace; and in the last war an army of only thirty thousand so drained the resources of government, that they were unable to carry it on with any vigour. At one time during that war we were compelled to give our soldiers large bounties in lands, and pay them from twelve to eighteen dollars per month. Even then it was found difficult, without the aid of foreigners, to fill the ranks which disease and combat had thinned. The custom of universal service does away all difficulty here. Europe, with a population of less than two hundred millions, supports armies amounting to 2,348,000 men, (vid. Hassel) or one soldier to rather more than eighty persons; to say nothing of the sailors necessary to man the twenty-two hundred ships of war belonging to these powers. To support such armies and fleets, were the soldiers and seamen paid as ours are, it would require some new Potosis, or every nation would sink into bankruptcy. Here, however, none but the higher officers are well paid. A captain in the Prussian service does not receive more than three hundred and fifty Spanish dollars, and one in France but two thousand francs, less than four hundred dollars. A second lieutenant here receives not more than two hundred, in France one thousand three hundred francs, or two hundred and forty-five dollars. The pay of a first lieutenant here is not more than two

hundred and sixty, in France fifteen hundred francs, or nearly two hundred and seventy dollars. The pay of the common soldiers here is two groschen, equal to six cents per day, with a small allowance of bread. Once in eighteen months or two years, they receive also a new suit of clothes. In France the pay of the soldier is about two cents more per diem. As the common soldiers very rarely rise, whatever may be their merit, to the rank of a commissioned officer, the prospects of a humble citizen or peasant who enters the army, are less inviting than those of any class of society, save that of the beggars and lazzaroni. Accordingly, you find the great mass of them, as soon as their time of service expires, returning to their homes, and embarking in some active employment. This is true of the French, as well as of those nations who are reputed to be less volatile. Though Napoleon's guard were much attached to a military life, the ordinary conscripts, as soon as peace permitted them to return to their firesides, left the army and their leader with no little pleasure, cheered as they were with the hope of passing the rest of their lives at a distance from the tumult of camps. The lower classes of Europe are probably the strongest advocates for peace, for they receive most of the bullets, very little of the pay, and none of the praise. Since my arrival here, I have had two applications from young Prussians to take them as servants, that they might escape from their country in that capacity, as they would otherwise be necessitated to enter the army. They were told that my home was four thousand miles from Berlin, and that if I took them they would be under the necessity of bidding their friends adieu for many years; to which they replied, that they would go any where; that if they should once get beyond the boundary, they would never return. If a military life, during peace, while they are living in comfortable quarters, is thus detested by the common people, what must be their feelings when war adds to their present privations all the horrors it brings in its train. What reasons have we for thankfulness, that we are far removed from a powerful enemy! What a motive does this present to us for perpetual union!

The Prussian army differs in its organization from that of France, and from most others in Europe. The French system of conscriptions which was very extensively introduced into Germany

by Napoleon, still exists in many of the German states. Thegreat extent of frontier which Prussia presented, after the accession of territory acquired at the Congress of Vienna, made it necessary for the government to adopt some plan, which should greatly increase the number of soldiers. As the resources of this country are limited, they found it impossible largely to augment the regular army. It was necessary to make as many soldiers as possible, with the least expense to the nation, and this was effected by the organization of a *Landwehr*, or *Landsturm*, as it is frequently called. A *Landsturm* was formed and commanded by the minister Albini, as early as 1799; and during the year 1808, Austria formed another of 50,000 men. These bodies, however, were more like militia in actual service, than the present *Landwehr* of Prussia. In the latter part of the year 1815, the monarch enacted a law, that every individual in the kingdom, should perform military duty, with the sole exception of the clergy. In France, and other countries of Europe, the time of service for the conscripts, is five, six, and seven years; while in Prussia every individual is compelled to serve but three. As soon as the time of service expires, they leave the army, and become a part of the *Landwehr*, to which they belong until they reach the age of thirty-two. This body differs from the National Guard in France, as it has passed through three years service, while that of the latter is merely a body of militia, which are drilled a few times a year. You will see that every man becomes a soldier, a literal fulfilment of the fable of the dragon's teeth, which war has sown through this country, and from which almost as great a harvest of soldiers has sprung, as of wheat from its sandy soil.

The *Landwehr* are compelled to be in service during one month in the year. The rest of it they devote to their individual avocations. The number of this body at the present time, is more than three hundred thousand men, which added to the regular army of one hundred and seventy thousand, furnishes the king with a force of about half a million of soldiers, which can be brought into the field in case of necessity. As the time of service is but three years, it can not be supposed that they become as perfect in the most difficult evolutions, as if it were of the same duration as in France; still it is sufficient to enable them before the first campaign

is half ended, to recover all their former precision of discipline, and to offer a most powerful obstacle to the progress of an invading army.

The Prussian soldiers are much larger men than those of the French and Italian armies, and, *cæteris paribus*, present a much finer appearance. They perform their evolutions with the greatest exactness, and, if inferior in this respect to the French, it requires better military eyes than mine to discover it. The Prussians, most of whom have for a long period seen no other troops, not only maintain that their army is invincible, but that no one in Europe can compare with it. One of the officers, with whom I was lately conversing, declared, that they could easily march, in four days, from the Rhine provinces to Paris. This opinion of Prussian superiority is based upon the success which crowned their struggle during the wars of 1813 and 14. They do not, however, seem to be conscious, that the flower of Napoleon's army was destroyed by the snows of Russia; that the few who recrossed the Niemen, were disheartened by suffering; that the majority of the soldiers with whom they combatted, were young troops who had never seen service, a large proportion having been anticipated conscripts, of sixteen or seventeen years of age; and that they fought from the desire of breaking chains which had long galled them, and under the inspiring hope of a constitutional government, as the reward of their efforts. They occasionally gained a victory during the war, but it was usually by superiority of numbers. Napoleon, with his army of young men and boys, fought nearly twice the number of allied troops at Leipzig, for four days, and with no greater loss of killed and wounded than the enemy. Were a new war to arise between France and Prussia, it is very difficult to decide which army, on equal terms, would gain the victory. The French move with much greater celerity; the Prussians have the most physical force. The former, in modern warfare, is of much greater utility than the latter, in every case, except in a charge of the bayonet. The Prussian cavalry are much better mounted, but the French horses move with more rapidity. The discipline in each army is very perfect, and the hatred of the French to the Prussians, can only be equalled by that of the latter to the former. The government of each country is unpopular, perhaps

equally so. The French army, if officered by Napoleon's marshals, and, above all, with himself for a leader, would, I have no doubt, whip the Prussians to their heart's content; but, if they were to be led by the duke d'Angouleme, the present commander-in-chief, I would not venture much in their favour. The history of France presents so much that is brilliant, victory has so often perched upon her standards, and nations have so frequently submitted to her will, that the meanest soldier feels proud of the nation of his birth, and will shed his blood *pour la gloire de la France.* There is nothing in the history of Prussia, before the time of Frederick, to awaken martial enthusiasm. During his reign, and during the years 1813 and 1814, there was much in their history to give to this people a national character. They now apparently feel it, at least if one can judge from their boasting. During those periods, causes existed to rouse them to effort, which will probably never arise again. Two such monarchs as Frederick do not govern the same country in a millenium; while a nation that has fought for liberty, and has found, after victory has crowned its efforts, that the only reward is tyranny and taxation, will not feel willing, in a subsequent struggle, to sacrifice their all for a monarch, who they say is destitute of gratitude and honesty. This want of faith, as they term it, on the part of their sovereign, has so diminished the attachment they once felt for him, that the reflecting men who are attached to the army, do not hesitate to say, that in their next struggle with Russia or France, no excitement will be felt by the nation at large, whatever may be the feeling of the soldiers. Could they be led by a second Frederick, they would become the first soldiers in Europe, and an Austrian, French, and Russian coalition could not crush them. Buonaparte disliked the Prussians, because they armed against him in 1806; and after the battle of Jena, when most of this kingdom fell into his hands, he punished them with great severity. The retaliation of the Prussians, when they entered France in 1814 and 15, was so severe, that they are not only hated and detested by the French army, but also by the nation, who now call them *les plus chiens.* The French, who have forgotten the causes which led to this cruel treatment, look forward to another war with great pleasure, and would hail the report of the first cannon as the signal of returning vengeance.

The Prussian officers with whom I have conversed, seem equally desirous of it, feeling that the peace of Paris arrived too soon to enable them to give the French their merited chastisement. How such a war would end, would depend very much on the fact, whether it were popular or not among the Prussians. Whenever it arrives, it will undoubtedly be carried on with a ferocity, to which few modern wars can find a parallel. Should it continue a number of campaigns, France must reap the greatest advantage, for her population is much greater, and her resources are more abundant than those of any country in Europe, west of Poland, while Prussia is proverbial for its poverty.

LETTER X.

BERLIN, 1826.

PERHAPS no country in Europe, west of Poland, is so little distinguished for its eloquence as Germany. This results from a variety of causes, which, fortunately, do not exist in England, in France, or in the United States. Although many of these causes are to be found in Italy, still so rich are her landscapes, so glorious are her sun and sky, her stars and atmosphere, and so enlivening is her climate, that in this respect, as well as in most others, the Italians are the antipodes of the Germans. This want of eloquence is in some measure owing to a coldness of manner, which it would be doing them injustice to call a want of feeling; but which to say the least, is a deficiency in an apparent susceptibility to the influence of external objects. The Germans are a people of intense feeling; inferior in this respect to no other nation of Europe. But their passion is too profound to be easily agitated by external objects. A high excitement is necessary to affect their hearts, so that the countenance shall become an index of their feelings. This apparent want of susceptibility to all the objects of sense, except music, is visible every where. The clergyman, the soldier, the man of fashion, the player, and the mademoiselle; in their manner, motions, mode of utterance and conversation, all remind you that you have passed the Rhine, and have left behind you the land of *naiveté*. The countenance partakes also of this want of animation. While the face of a Parisian will glow at the description of a new fashion or opera, or of the new carriage of the king, that of a German would be scarcely as animated, were he to hear of the revolution of a nation, unless he held a large amount in the public funds. Although the remark may be generally true, that where there is feeling or intellect, it will be visible in the countenance, it certainly is not applicable to the Germans. Their faces are the least expressive of any nation in

Europe, and even when deeply interested in conversation, their countenances are not indices of their minds or their hearts. A French savant derives many of his thoughts through the medium of external objects. Every thing which passes before him is observed; a German lives more in ages which have passed away, or in countries far removed by place and character from his own. The former passes a part of his time in society, at the theatre, in the public promenades; the latter lives in his closet, in ruminating upon distant ages, or upon the imaginary world which he has created. One, who passes every twelve hours out of twenty-four, in tracing ancient and modern languages to their sources, or in studying every thing connected with the antiquities, mythology, philosophy, &c. of other nations, will be unfitted to derive much enjoyment from the present, or to add much to the general charms of society. Accordingly, you rarely find the German literati excelling in conversation. In this respect, both themselves and the citizens at large, are inferior to us, and much so to the French. Many of the Parisian bourgeois will converse eloquently on the knot or colour of a cravat, will describe in a most graphic manner a ladies dress, or a promenade in the Tuileries or Luxembourg; and while they may not convey one interesting thought, will throw around the description an animation and a sprightliness, that will make you listen with pleasure and with admiration of their colloquial powers. Their countenences in the mean time will display every degree of light and shade, in proportion to the pleasure or disgust felt in witnessing the objects they describe. To make the picture more distinct, their hands and arms are thrown into a great variety of gestures, of grace, and elegance; all of which are like fine accentuation in the mouth of the orator.

A German when describing the same subjects will often become embarrassed, will place his body in an awkward position, and most of the time will keep his eyes on the floor. Before he has finished his description, he will probably make several long pauses in his conversation, and apparently hesitate whether to stop or to proceed. The Parisian is so accustomed to conversation from his childhood, that he does it with the same ease and adroitness as a soldier performs his drill, and so early does he discover that grace is indispensable to his reputation, and indeed to his being endured

in society, that it soon becomes a part of his being, and he rarely, if ever, suffers from embarrassment. In truth, awkwardness is almost unknown in France. Even the postillion salutes the peasants and village girls (who stop their labour in the fields or put their heads out of the window, as soon as the crack of his whip announces his approach,) with a touch of his hat *à la mode Parisienne*, while in the class above him, there is an interchange of as many bows, civilities, and curtesies, as among the highest classes of society in other countries. In France every one is perfectly acquainted with etiquette. In whatever situation a Frenchman is placed, he feels free from embarrassment, and has the full command of all his powers. This perfect self-possession, is one of the principal reasons why they excel all other nations in conversation, and why, every one of them amuses if he does not interest.

In Germany *la mode* is not so well understood as in most other countries, indeed there is less of it in fact. The thirty-two courts which exist here, make its laws for themselves. Here is no great capital to form a central point, towards which every eye can turn; no national court which, in all cases of etiquette, can be a standard of appeal. Every one adopts a manner in his dress, walk, and address, which is purely his own, and frequently approaches the extreme of awkwardness. This remark does not solely apply to the inhabitants of the smaller states. It is equally applicable to the Prussians at large, and to a considerable extent to the higher classes of society. A single promenade in the *Thiergarten*, or five minutes passed at one of the great balls, even at those which the king and royal family frequent, will convince any one who has ever seen Paris, of the limited influence of *la mode* in this city. In the middle classes it is still more visible. In a single walk you will see coats of a dozen different fashions, many of which appear to have been made for persons of a different stature from the wearer; bonnets of all the shapes that have been devised by milliners since the peace of Paris; and arms and legs, hanging and moving in every manner but that which is graceful. Every one here knows that *la mode* exists, but as it is invisible, he is not certain that he understands what it is; and when with a stranger, he naturally fears that he may offend its rules unconsciously. This prevents his having that perfect self-command which is necessary

to success in conversation, and causes a slight restraint upon every action and display of feeling. He is accordingly exceedingly complaisant, and would much prefer being the listener, to taking an active part in conversation. The Germans in consequence converse with much less facility than their western neighbours, and although their minds are more cultivated, they are far less amusing. Conversation in France is made a study, a prominent part of education; here it is allowed to take care of itself, and rarely does it become an accomplishment.*

Another powerful obstacle to the cultivation of eloquence is the restriction imposed upon the press. Where the press is free, conversation on all those subjects which are interesting to man, as a political being, will be unrestrained. In France, in England, and in our own country, the great question—In what does national happiness consist?—appears constantly before the public eye, in all its thousand ramifications, through the medium of the journals, gazettes, and pamphlets. As these are daily seen and read, they afford topics of discussion to every circle. The public mind is thus kept ever awake, and the spirit of a nation otherwise dormant becomes habitually active. New arguments and new thoughts are daily elicited and presented. These are more or less within the reach of every individual, and he becomes of course far more an argumentative being, than if he had been born in a land of political despotism. In Germany, on the other hand, every subject connected with the political rights of man, is almost excluded from the press. On these topics no one writes, save now and then to prove that the actual state of things is the best which could possibly exist. Even this is rarely done, lest a proposition so absurd, when coming into collision with the feelings of every individual, should rouse him to reflection. Not being allowed to express his

* These remarks are made in reference to the characters of the two nations. There are of course many exceptions. You find occasionally, even among the greatest scholars of Germany, very uncommon colloquial powers, but it is after the restraints of the stranger have ceased, and you are received on the footing of an acquaintance. They then become the most interesting men you ever meet with, and their want of a knowledge of etiquette, is forgotten or unobserved. I know of no colloquial eloquence superior to that which I have seen in some few of the literati of this country.

thoughts upon these subjects in print, he soon feels that it would be equally dangerous in conversation, as he is never sure that he is safe, unless when conversing with an intimate friend. He does it then in a whisper, and with feelings half suppressed. What he says excites his own mind and that of his companion only to momentary thought, and, as he sees no hope of a change for the better, he soon relaxes into his former apathy on these subjects. Literature and music create interest in a portion of the nation; but as discussions of this nature are usually confined to matters of taste, they rarely give birth to sufficient intensity of feeling, to impart eloquence to conversation.

When national happiness, or in other words the happiness of every individual of the nation, can not with safety be made the topic of conversation, the mind will enter with very little ardour into other important subjects, unless those of a religious nature. Conscious as every Prussian is, that the almost omniscient eye of the government, through the medium of its system of *espionage* is fixed upon him, and that a single word expressed with boldness, may furnish an occasion for transferring him to Koepnic or Spandau; he becomes of course, in every circle, suspicious of those around him, sustains a negative character in his conversation, advances those indefinite opinions which are harmless, and if he does not commend, he takes very good care never to censure the proceedings of government. Theology, a subject in itself so noble, and so worthy of discussion, is entirely banished from society. Such discussions are exclusively confined to the theological professors and students of the university, or to small circles, and then it is usually soon succeeded by others. This subject, therefore, which in our country of sects is so constantly placed before the public eye, does very little towards elevating the intellectual character of the Germans. Thus fettered, the Prussians find a solace in amusement for the injuries which they feel, and in this vegetative state of feeling all eloquence expires.

The bar, which in most countries is the great nursery of eloquence, has no influence here. All the courts, but those of one class, are held in secret, and no one knows what passes there, until the judges see fit to make known their decisions. The class referred to exists only in the Rhine provinces, from the courts of

which there is an appeal here, and this is soon to be changed, lest the people should be induced to desire a greater publicity to the proceedings of government. The lawyers write their arguments, which they read to the judges, as there is neither audience nor jury. So long has this custom existed, that in the Court of Cassation, the court of appeal for the Rhine provinces, where spectators are admitted, they read them also. Their arguments are of course mere deductions from premises, filled with technical language, and no more interesting to a common audience than so much Arabic. Their manner of reading, if an opinion can be formed from hearing them in one of the western courts which I attended, is as good a soporific as their arguments.

The only schools for eloquence which remain, are the pulpit and the stage. It is hardly just to form an opinion of the eloquence of the clergy from those of a single city; for until some time after my arrival here, I did not understand the language well enough to follow them in their discourses. I have heard a number of the most eloquent preachers of Berlin, but cannot admit that, in thought or manner, they are superior to the ablest preachers of our country, or to many whom I have heard in France and Italy. They are called very eloquent by the people of Berlin, but they have not that glow of feeling and that animation of gesture which you find in those who truly deserve the epithet. They speak, at times, with great facility; but they have no fire: there is nothing to remind you of the "blaze of genius and the burst of thought" which are occasionally found on the floor of our congress and in our pulpits. The stage is very respectable, and affords sufficient evidence that the Germans, if placed under the influence of the proper moral causes, might, in some instances, at least, become powerfully eloquent. The theatres are sufficiently thronged to awaken all the powers of the actors; and to this, as well as to the fact that their salaries depend upon their display of this talent, may be attributed the superiority of the theatrical, to other nurseries of eloquence.

From these remarks, you will see, at once, how great are the advantages which the young men of our country enjoy over the Germans, in acquiring an easy and interesting manner of conveying their thoughts, both in conversation and in public speaking. Here there is no congress, no state legislatures, no political clubs,

no debating societies, no public courts; in one word, there is not a single place where a German may address his fellow men, unless he is a clergyman or a player. To the youth of this country, all hopes of acquiring reputation, and of influencing the feelings of their countrymen, except through the medium of the press, are destroyed. Those who still wish, under all these discouragements, to climb "the steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar," resort to the field of literature or the army; while the greater portion are contented with a reputation in the small circuit of their profession, and out of them they are almost unknown.

That the Germans are capable of becoming eloquent, no one can doubt who beheld the national ardour during the last war. The addresses then delivered are represented as having been fine specimens of glowing feeling; for in such a cause the governments allowed them to speak with freedom. As they were principally extempore effusions, they have passed away with the events to which they gave rise, and from which they rose. A few of the printed ones which I have seen, certainly exhibit a great deal of fire; and if we may judge from the effects, were highly eloquent. In their criticisms in the various departments of literature and the fine arts, they are inferior to no nation. Johnson's remarks on Shakspeare and the other poets of our language, are tame in comparison with the enthusiasm and glow of Schlegel's mind, when speaking of that great dramatist and of Calderon. In poetic eloquence, they certainly hold a very exalted station, and they need not shrink from a comparison with any nation but the English; and not with them, if Milton and Shakspeare are excepted. Italy, the very land of the fine arts, the country of taste and beauty, has never produced a writer on the antique to compare with Winckelman; and few minds, save a small number of their sculptors and painters, ever felt, in all its force, the power and beauty of ancient sculpture, until they read the elegant analysis and eloquent descriptions of this author.

I find that Shakspeare is more read here, if possible, than in the United States, and much more admired.* Voss, the celebrated

* Wieland and Eschenberg made the first translations of Shakspeare. The former gave only a German version of Midsummer's Night Dreams, and the

translator of Homer, many years since gave the plays of the great dramatic poet to his countrymen in a German translation; and since that time, many other translations have appeared. There are now five or six of these German Shakspeares, most of which are superior to those of any other foreign tongue. This language is admirably adapted to present the thoughts of foreign poets in a dress little, if any, inferior to the original. It is richer in the number of its words than the Greek, and its facilities of combination are also greater than those of any language of Europe. The great number of particles, by means of which they make new verbs and substantives, as well as the wonderful ease with which two, and even three words and particles are united into one, (for two German words unite very much like two drops of water,) have given a richness to this language which excites the surprise even of those who are familiar with that of Attica. There are very few ideas or feelings which cannot be expressed by a single word, by means of these combinations. The flexibility of the language is little, if any, inferior to its copiousness. With such facilities, you can easily conceive that a German, who thoroughly understands a foreign language, if he enters into the feelings of the poet, the people, and the age in which he flourished, which his exegetical education and manner of investigating all literary subjects enable him to do, is admirably fitted to become a translator of the poetry of other nations. Accordingly, there are few departments of foreign literature, there are few celebrated poems in other languages, which are not within the reach of every German. The songs of Hafiz and of the other poets of Persia, the poetry of Arabia, of Palestine, and of ancient and modern Europe, all appear in the language of this country, and often with a beauty but little inferior to that of the original.

Of all the translators of Shakespeare, Augustus Wilhelm Schlegel has acquired the greatest reputation. His version presents, perhaps the strongest proof of the richness and flexibility of this language. Of this work the Germans boast with a national pride,

latter translated but a small number of his plays. Since their appearance Krause, Falk, Kessler, Dippold, Meyer, and others, have each translated parts or all of them.

rarely excited, unless when speaking of their victories, during the "Holy War," or the "war of Freedom," as they call that of 1813 and 1814. I know of no translation in any other language to compare with it, and when reading it you almost forget that you are not perusing the original. So literal is this work, and so perfectly are the beauties of the original retained, that Shakspeare might be almost willing to acknowledge it as his own. Wherever antique words occur in the original, they are to be met with in the translation so far as this language will admit of it. It thus exhibits to the German reader, that character of age, which throws such a charm over his pages. The critique of Schlegel on Shakspeare is filled with that enthusiasm which no one could feel, who was not alive to all the beauty and sublimity of the great dramatist.

The northern Germans resemble us much more than any other nation on the continent. Like us they are Protestants, and they show in their conversation thatd epth of feeling, which naturally arises from a religion addressed equally to the intellect and the heart. A religion which is grounded on argument, and not on mere feeling, one where the heart is impressed through the medium of the understanding, though it will not excite as intense momentary dread, will assume a more permanent reality, and be more influential, than one which appears to the eye, through the revelations which painting presents of futurity. Like us, they are a people who are exposed to all the severities of winter, and during the long months of clouds and rain, mist and snow, they seek for enjoyment by their fire-sides, and not in basking in the sun, as do the southern nations of Europe. Like us they have not only a *home*, but a word also to convey this idea which in some of the dictionaries of southern Europe you search for in vain. Their impressions are not like those of the nations upon the Mediterranean derived from external objects, but from reflection, and they are capable of feeling in the fullest manner all that power of passion, which is seen on every page of the English dramatist. Accordingly you find their admiration of Shakspeare almost boundless. He is a more frequent topic of conversation than any foreign writer, and, since my residence here, I have conversed more on this subject, than during my whole life in America. Lectures on his plays are given in almost every university, and in not a small number of

the cities, they are publicly read by lecturers to the citizens, where his beauties are unfolded and his obsolete illusions explained, with all the acuteness of German criticism. His tragedies and comedies are more frequently played than those of any foreign writer or than any of their own, with the exception of those of Schiller; whose plays do not draw as full houses as those of the bard of Avon. They universally admit that his mind was of a higher order than any other creative poet, not even excepting Goethe, whom they almost idolize. It gives me not a little pleasure to see this universal admiration of Shakspeare, whose writings I have found so little appreciated elsewhere on the continent. I have never seen a Parisian* who would acknowledge that his was a master spirit; not one who thought his genius comparable to that of Racine, Corneille, or Voltaire. In Italy he is almost unknown, and one living south of the Alps, laughs at the idea of comparing Hamlet or Macbeth, with the Philip or Saul of Alfierí. Probably no writer, except those of Greece and Rome, has had a greater influence over the literature of a foreign country, than Shakspeare over that of Germany. Klopstock, Goethe, Wieland, Lessing, Schiller and Herder, all acknowledge his influence in forming their taste, and unite in an almost boundless admiration for his genius. Goethe in his Wilhelm Meister, and Schlegel in his history of Dramatic Literature, have spoken of him with that admiration which all great minds must feel, when perusing his wonderful tragedies.†

During the continental struggle, English literature rarely found its way to the continent. Since the peace of 1814, it is introduced by every arrival at Hamburg from London, and most works of merit soon appear in the original, or in the translations. I have found some of the Germans as warm admirers of English literature as their fathers were fifty years since, of that of France; preferring it even to their own. Our language is now spoken to some extent

* The French should not be censured for the low estimate they form of Shakspeare, With the exception of several of his plays, altered by Jean François Duçis, some forty years since, their translations of him are detestable. In one of the versions of "Macbeth; Macbeth! beware Macduff," is translated "Monsieur Macbeth! prenez garde de Monsieur Macduff."

† Before the translation of Shakspeare's plays appeared, there was not a single tragedy in this language, which the Germans of the present day regard as classical.

in every part of Germany, and some of the poets occassionally write in English, though their works are evidently composed with not a little restraint. Its grammatical construction is so much more simple than that of every other in Europe, that to translate our prose, is rather an amusement, than a labour to a German. The poetry is more difficult, but its construction so nearly resembles that of his own language, that he soon reads it with ease. There is one obstacle, however, of which they very much complain, viz. our pronunciation. This, to them, is a perfect chaos, and they often despair of arriving at moderate correctness. That the words *cough*, *enough*, and *though*, should not rhyme; and that *blow though* and *go*, that *enough* and *bluff* should, to them is incomprehensible. This, however, is not their greatest difficulty. They find the *th* of our language, a worse Shibboleth, than the שׁ to the Ephraimites; and were the Germans compelled to pronounce it in passing a second Jordan, or meet a similar fate, there are, probably not half a dozen who would ever reach the opposite bank. I have seen many of them who rarely made a grammatical mistake in talking English, but never met with but one who could say, *thirty three thousand things*. With all their efforts they can only bring forth *dirty dree dousand dings*. In making the attempt they screw and twist their faces into as many shapes as a Mountebank, reminding one of Hogarth's singing congregation.

The works of Scott are as much read here as with us. They appear both in the original and in translations, often in several of the latter. Cooper's novels, and Irving's Tales, are a constant topic of conversation. As they are the only American works in these branches of literature which are known in this country, the novelty of the scenes which they paint, together with their real merit, has given them a popularity, not much surpassed by that of the great Scotch Novelist. French works are more frequently reprinted in the original, than in a German dress, as almost every educated man reads that language, which the conquests of Napoleon and the gallantry of his officers, have made the *lingua communis* of Europe. The *chef d'ouvres* of the great Italian poets, are now re-printing at Leipzig, as well as the works of Byron, Shakspeare, Moore, &c. in the languages in which they were written. In truth many of the classic authors of most of the countries of Europe, as

well as of many of those of Asia, appear from time to time, from the German press, in their proper languages and characters. When will the time arrive, that works of even one foreign classical writer can be printed in our country in the native language of the author, without danger of their being consigned to the grocer to envelope his tea and sugar?

LETTER XI.

Berlin, 1826.

The university of Berlin, until within a few years, was merely a medical school. In 1810, the three faculties of theology, law, and philosophy, were added to it, and the university was thus formed. It takes the lead, this year, of all the German universities, in the number of students, and also in the number of lectures that are delivered. It is now patronised more than any other in Germany, not excepting that of Vienna; as the Austrian government, of late years, has been very unwilling to allow that freedom of literary discussion, which is indispensable to the prosperity of an university. That government, does not allow but one course of statistics, viz. of Austria, to be given in that institution, from the fear that even through this medium, some suspicions might enter the minds of the youth, that other countries, as they are more prosperous, may be also better governed. A law has recently been enacted, dated Vienna, January 26, 1826, (vide *Berlinische Nachrichten*, of February 2d, the same year,) that in the Austrian schools of instruction, no foreigner, who has passed the age of ten years, shall be received; and that cases of admission, under this age, shall not frequently occur. This law, illiberal as it is, is worthy of the source whence it proceeded, and must excite surprise even at Rome, where, as at all the other universities of Italy, foreigners are received on the same footing as the natives. It, doubtless, results from the fears which Metternich entertains, that political light will be introduced from abroad, to dazzle the youth so long accustomed only to Austrian darkness. It will, for ever, prevent the institution of Vienna, from rising numerically to the elevation it would otherwise attain, as from one-fourth to one-half of the students in every university of Germany, with this exception, are not natives of the kingdom, or grand duchy, in which it is situated.

The remarks made in my description of the university of Göttingen, are most of them applicable to that of Berlin. Like that, it is divided into four departments. In theology, there are seven professors and four teachers, who deliver twenty-eight courses of lectures. In the faculty of law, there are nine professors and five teachers, who deliver thirty-two courses of lectures. In the medical department, there are twenty-one professors and seven teachers, who deliver sixty-nine courses of lectures on every branch of surgery, anatomy, materia medica, physiology, medical practice, &c. In philosophy, there are thirty-five professors and fourteen teachers, who deliver ninety-three courses of lectures on almost every subject, included from the arts of singing and riding, to mathematics and Chaldaic. You will thus see that there are between two and three hundred courses of lectures delivered in this university. Each course here occupies four and a half months. In most of the courses, lectures are delivered four, five, and six times in a week; in a few of them, once and twice. You will perceive, by looking at the *Index Lectionum*,* that there are few subjects which hold a prominent place in moral, literary, or professional discussion, that are not here treated in an elaborate manner.

The great superiority of German universities to those of our country, and in truth, to all others, except that of Paris, results from the admirable subdivision of labour which exists there. This is as important in mental as in physical effort, and will always ensure equal success. One man, to use a hackneyed illustration, can not make more than five or six buttons daily, but ten men can make a thousand, by dividing and thus simplifying their labour. A professor who, like most of ours, is compelled to instruct in several languages, and write lectures upon the literature of as many nations, will never advance very far in either, and his opinions must be a mere compilation of those who have preceded him in the same departments. But, when an individual devotes most of his life to a single language, or, as the German professors often do, to two or three of the most distinguished works of its literature, he must, with moderate powers, arrive at a degree of excellence, which men of genius can not attain, where they waste their strength on the literature of three or four countries. It is an

* Vid Appendix.

effect of this subdivision of mental effort, that we find such works as those of Heyne, Wolf, and Hermann, in classical learning; and to the want of it that, until within a few years, we have had no writer in oriental literature, or in that of Athens and Rome, who would sustain a moderate reputation in this country. When I left the United States, there were in Cambridge but four professors to instruct in the literature and languages of all nations, ancient and modern, and in Yale there was but one. Such a field is too wide for any one mind to grasp it. You may advance some distance on many beaten tracks, but you will never make any discoveries, unless you confine yourself to one or two.

You must not understand me as saying, that a professor of Hebrew should not be so familiar with Arabic, Syriac, Latin, and Greek, and with the modern languages, as to read them with facility. This is indispensable, if he will acquire an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew, or avail himself of the discoveries of others, and this the German professors do universally. It is rare to find one who cannot translate from six to seventeen languages, and they can often speak three or four; but they devote most of their strength to one, or even to a few works of a single language. By this division of labour, they have introduced in these institutions a more thorough course of exegetical instruction than has ever existed elsewhere. With us, if a student can give a grammatical translation of a few of the authors of classical literature, he is pronounced a fine Greek and Latin scholar, and he leaves the university in the blaze of a Salutatory or Valedictory.

Exegesis, so far as I am acquainted with our literary institutions, and I have friends connected with many of them, has scarcely become a part of classical instruction. Here they learn the construction of the ancient languages much more minutely than with us; so much so, that all the rules and exceptions of the syntax must be understood by the student. When he is familiar with these, he is supposed to have acquired such a knowledge of the language, as imperfectly to qualify him for commencing the study of its authors. Much more remains to be done before he can pursue an exegetical course to advantage. He must become thoroughly acquainted with the geography, the antiquities, the physical character of the country whose literature he is perusing, before he

enters upon this mode of studying. In pursuing it as an exeget, he must study, most intimately, the character of the people, as moral, intellectual, and physical beings; be able to trace every custom and every image to its source; become acquainted with their mythology and philosophy; ascertain whether their opinions on these subjects were introduced by their intercourse with surrounding nations, or had their origin in their own peculiar character; make himself intimately acquainted with their history, laws, state of society, social intercourse, mode of life, their peculiar rites and ceremonies; examine the circumstances under which the author wrote his work, and of the nation at the time it was written; in one word, discover every thing connected with them as moral, intellectual, political, religious, social, and physical beings; so that he may, in the fullest manner, overcome all those difficulties which distance, time, and place, have thrown in the way of the reader. It is from the pursuit of this course, that so many of these professors appear, in their studies and lecture-rooms, to live more in past ages than in the present century, and to be more familiar with the manners and customs of antiquity than with those of Germany. It is thus that they learn to feel the true spirit of David, of Isaiah, Æschylus, Euripides, Dante, or Calderon, with almost the same force as the contemporaries of those poets. Such a professor becomes, in fact, a lamp to guide the student in the darkness of antiquity.

It is not in ancient languages only, that they pursue this course of exegetical instruction. The remarks just made above, are as applicable to their lectures on modern literature, as to that of Greece and Rome. In fact, no other course of study is considered of any avail, and any other mode of lecturing would be the means of rendering every seat of the lecture-room vacant. This exegetical mode of study has been pursued with far more ardour, during the last seventy years, than before. Michaelis, in oriental literature; Heyne and Ernesti, in the ancient languages, created an interest in exegesis, previously unknown in this country. They have been succeeded by hundreds, perhaps it should be said by thousands, who have applied this mode of studying to the literature of almost every language, from China to the ultima Thule. The number of distinguished exegets, is much

greater now than at any previous period. This remark is particularly applicable to the Orientalists and Grecians of this country; for these are the names which they receive when they arrive at eminence, being called no longer Germans.

The same subdivision of labour exists in almost every other department of instruction, as most of the universities possess cabinets and apparatus sufficiently extensive, to illustrate every branch of science. Though foreign languages and literature are pursued here with an interest unknown since the reformation, an equal ardour is manifested in the study of medicine, and in many of the branches of physical science. In consequence of this the German students acquire a thorough education in all the most important branches of knowledge. The distance between them and our own students is of course very great. The former, when they enter the universities are much better acquainted with the classical literature, than ours when they are graduated, and many of them are superior to many of our professors. This must continue to be the fact, so long as our literary professors are compelled to trace the immense field of classic or modern literature, and it may be added, so long as our universities continue on their present footing.

With us, as well as in Germany, the professors are chosen for life, but here the resemblance ceases. In the United States we give them a sufficient salary, to enable them to live pleasantly; and when once chosen, they realize that their fortune is made, that they have reached the ultimatum of ascent. Here they receive only half a subsistence for themselves and families; and whether they acquire the other half or not, depends entirely upon their own efforts. They perfectly understand, that nothing but a reputation for talents and attainments will fill their lecture rooms, and that to acquire this fame, the most indefatigable application and industry are necessary. Every department has its four or six professors and teachers, who deliver lectures on subjects so nearly similar, that a constant rivalry is produced. For example, to a student pursuing Greek literature, it is of very little importance whether he reads Sophocles or Euripedes, but it is very necessary that the professor whose lectures, he attends should be thoroughly acquainted with the author he attempts to explain. These gentle-

men perfectly understand, as well as the stage and steamboat proprietors of our country, that if they are negligent, they will be deserted. This is not a little increased by the division into ordinary and extraordinary professors and teachers. The latter class who are paid nothing by the government, but are only permitted to deliver lectures, receive a Frederick d'or from each of the pupils, and are almost universally stimulated by necessity. Besides this they feel all the ardour of youth, and the consequent longing for reputation. To acquire subsistence and fame, they make unwearied exertions. Before them they see the extraordinary professors, whose title in the eyes of the students, gives them a prior claim; and to overtake them in the race they strain every nerve. The extraordinary professors see below them a number of young men, putting forth all their energy, while above them they behold the ordinary professors who have reached the highest point of ascent. This class are placed under the influence of two most powerful stimulants, the fear of being overtaken by the teachers, and the desire of surpassing the ordinary professors. The ordinary professors see below them two classes, at different distances, rapidly rising towards them, often almost treading upon their heels, and not unfrequently taking the lead in the number of their auditors, as well as in reputation. Under such a stimulus, they very rarely fall asleep, or relax their efforts, until age or debility arrives.

This continued strife has the happiest effect on the literature of this country, and in this respect, the German universities are better organised than any others in Europe. It is folly to suppose, that the mere influence of principle will induce most professors who do not feel great enthusiasm in their departments, to make the necessary efforts to arrive at excellence. They will often find bad weather in winter, and real or imaginary debility the rest of the year, an excuse for relaxation or indolence.

American professors are usually stationary from forty-five to fifty years of age, until their decease; or, to indulge the utmost charity, they advance very little after that period; here, they are continually acquiring fame by new attainments, and they are rarely unoccupied, even at seventy.

In the United States, the professors usually write but one course of lectures, which is delivered from year to year, until it loses with

even themselves half its interest, from its monotony; here, there are very few who do not deliver two, three, and even four courses on different branches of their profession at the same time, which occupy them as many hours during three, four, and even five days of the week. With us, a professor is usually chosen at a very early period of life, and long before his attainments have qualified him for his station, with the hope that his talents and industry will justify the appointment. If, as is sometimes the case, they are chosen at a more advanced age, they are selected from one of the professions in which they have been so long occupied, that they have had but little time to devote to any thing but the practical part of it. This is particularly true of theology and medicine, and is almost equally so in the department of law. Though they make very good clergymen, lawyers, and physicians, very few of them, however distinguished are their talents, make able professors. A man designed for such a station, like an officer in the army, should be educated for his profession, and should go through all the gradations of ascent, until he arrives at the highest chair of instruction. It is almost as unsafe to choose a professor of theology, of law, or of medicine, because the person chosen was a good preacher, lawyer, or physician, as it would be to elevate a common soldier to the rank of general, because he performed his drill with great precision. The one requires as long a course of study and of diligent application as the other. Happily for Germany, a very different course is pursued here. Before an individual can reach the humble station of teacher, he must exhibit fine talents, and an amount of learning which few of our professors possess. In this station he remains a long time, and years must roll away, unless his attainments are very uncommon, before he is raised to the extraordinary chair. Previous to this elevation, he passes six, eight, ten, and sometimes fifteen years, in the most diligent research, relying entirely upon his own efforts for success.

When a professor at length takes the first ascending step, he is not considered qualified to receive the compensation or title of an ordinary professor. Here he remains many years dependant upon the three or four hundred dollars that he receives from government, and on the fees of his lectures for subsistence, until he

shows the same decided superiority over his brethren of the same class, that he did when, as a teacher, he was called to the extraordinary chair. Even this is not enough. The German universities are all rival institutions, and the custom is universal, of appointing those who fill the prominent places in any one of them, to a similar place in another. To induce them to leave the chairs which they occupy, large pecuniary offers are made, and to these are not unfrequently added titles and decorations. The government of the university are thus under the necessity of retaining them by similar offers, or of seeing many of the students following the professor to a neigbouring institution. Learning and talent are thus thrown into the market, and become as much an article of commerce as any branch of manufactures. They are usually struck off to the highest bidder, unless the peculiar excellence of the library, as at Göttingen, or of the hospitals, as at Berlin, should induce the individual to make a pecuniary sacrifice for the sake of the greater facilities which his actual situation affords for arriving at eminence.

In consequence of this prevailing custom, an extraordinary professor is far from being certain of advancement to an ordinary chair, although he may have arrived at the first rank among his rivals in the university where he resides. If the fame of some other in a distant institution should surpass his own, he may have the mortification of seeing the vacancy filled by a stranger. The consciousness of this danger is a new motive to him to be ever active, and the thorough preparation which he makes, accordingly enables him, when he has at length arrived at the *ne plus ultra* of ascent, to appear in every respect fitted for his station. Here he is still under the influence of the motives which have been already referred to, which tend to keep him constantly active. But with even these habits of application he might, at times, be persuaded to relax his efforts. Many of these gentlemen by the time they have reached the ordinary professorship, have acquired such fortunes or reputation as might induce them to cease from exertion and to live upon their past fame, like "a sword in its scabbard rusting ingloriously away," were not new motives still to be presented to their minds. These are the titles and ribbons which are conferred by the monarchs on those ordinary professors, who in that

station acquire great distinction. As soon as a man here has acquired fortune he covets titles, for literary reputation is not sufficient to satisfy the boundless love of distinction. The desire of having a *Von* prefixed to his name, the hope of receiving the order of the black eagle of Prussia, of the white falcon of Weimar, of the great cross of the order of merit of Bavaria, &c., which from time to time are conferred on the literati of this country, induces him to continued exertions. The presentation of one of these increases his wish for more, until he becomes as desirous of them as an Italian vetturino is of his *buono mano*. With this system of advancement, bestowing its rewards exclusively according to the talents and industry of the individual, you will easily perceive that to be a professor in Germany, requires an amount of learning and a course of preparation to which in the United States we are strangers.

Many of the preceding remarks are made with feelings of deep regret, and not in the spirit of censure. I am perfectly aware of the great difficulties that are thrown in the way of attainments in a country like our own: I am equally aware that the means of procuring an education in some branches of knowledge, particularly in exegetical theology, have not extensively existed till within a few years. Most of these difficulties can be henceforth overcome, with the aid of German ardour and German industry. This is the vinegar that will soften the intellectual mountains which the student is compelled to climb. With these no Alpine heights need discourage him, nor induce him to retire and leave the glorious country which lies beyond, unexplored and unconquered. With this he will surmount every eminence, and though Alps on Alps arise, he will continually advance, until standing on an intellectual Mount Blanc, the prospect of another clime and a distant age rises to his view, to reward him for his exertions.

The time I hope will soon arrive, when the facilities for acquiring knowledge will be within the reach of every individual. A theological professor who is not well versed in exegetical literature, does not exist this side of the Rhine, and few clergymen can be found in this part of Germany, who are not tolerably well acquainted with the Hebrew language and its literature. It would be unreasonable to demand, that our professors should be as profound

scholars as those of this country: this at present is impossible. We have no libraries by means of which they can arrive at the same degree of excellence. With the exception of that of Cambridge, I have not seen one that contains, independently of its Greek, Latin, and English authors, one work in twenty which is indispensable to the eye of a German librarian, and which can easily be found in the large libraries of this country. With such a poverty of materials, how can it be expected that we should arrive even at moderate reputation in literature and science? But although the historian, the professors in modern literature, and especially the authors who write on subjects aside from the beaten track, can procure but few of the books to which they are referred in examining the subjects on which they write; those who fill the chairs of classical literature and of theology, will soon be able to procure such as are necessary to become thorough exegets in their departments. Even where these do not exist, it is delightful to reflect, that our commerce with Europe is now so extended, as to enable them at any time to procure them. Neither our literary men nor our clergymen, are in such indigent circumstances, as to prevent their availing themselves of the *chef-d'oeuvres* in foreign literature in their departments. A little of Hannibal's vinegar will enable them hereafter to surmount every obstacle.

No one can lament more than myself the poverty of our libraries. I should look upon the individual who would establish such a library in the United States, as that of Göttingen, as the greatest benefactor to my country, who has lived since the days of Washington. A residence near such a library as that just mentioned, near those of Berlin, of Dresden, or of *la Bibliothèque du Roi* at Paris, is almost enough, independently of family attachments, to reconcile a student to leave his country, and to reside in a foreign land. How long shall we wait before a small part of the literary treasures of the Continent are landed on our shores? When will our libraries become objects of interest to the eye of the foreigner? Our country is overflowing with wealth, and her physical and moral resources excite the astonishment of foreign nations. The time has gone by, for us to chaunt the old hackneyed song, "We must level our forests before we strike the lyre." The United States are at least twice as rich as Prussia, and are increasing in

wealth with five times the rapidity. We have as yet very limited means of acquiring literary reputation, and not one university, in the German sense of the word. Prussia, with an equal population, has six national universities, each of which, Greifswald excepted, has from two to four times as many instructors as Cambridge; and that of Berlin, has greater literary resources than all the collegiate and university libraries and cabinets of the United States can afford.

When I speak of the universities of Germany, you must not understand me speaking of institutions which are the same with our own. They correspond only with the professional departments in our colleges. The students here, before they enter them, receive an education in the classics, at some one or two of the hundred gymnasia of the country, much superior to that acquired at our colleges; and in mathematics and physical science, one that is equal to that in most of the latter. To form a correct comparison, it is unnecessary to deduct all the academical students. I have now before me a list of all the students in the Prussian universities in 1825. More than three-fourths of these are pursuing theology, law, and medicine. The remainder are studying some one or more of the fifty or sixty branches of the philosophical department, many of them with the intention of devoting themselves to science or belles-lettres, while others hope to obtain places under government, or to lead a life of ease on their estates. In these six universities there were the last year, 4816 students.* In the medical schools of Philadelphia, Baltimore, New-York, Boston, New-Haven, Lexington, and Dartmouth, the only ones which deserve to be named, there were never more than 1300 students at a time, probably not more than 1100. The theological schools of Andover,† Cambridge, New-Haven, Princeton, Auburn, New-York, and Virginia, they have never had at any one time four hundred students. There are not one hundred young men studying law at all the

* In the winter of 1828, there were in the Prussian universities, *five thousand eight hundred and ninety* students. Vid. Foreign Review, No. 3d, page 266.

† Reference is here made to the state of the medical, theological, and legal schools, previous to the year 1823, when I went to Europe.

colleges and universities of our country. The number of graduates who are pursuing science and literature at these institutions, with the intention of devoting their lives to these pursuits, has never been fifty. Taking the largest of these estimates, we have in Prussia the number of students amounting to 4816; in the United States, to 1850. It should be recollected, however, that three-fourths of our students are the sons of our farmers, while not one in fifty is here the son of a peasant. From this you will be enabled to form a comparative estimate respecting the liberal education of the inhabitants of the towns in this country, and in the United States.

Happily for the literature of Prussia, as it must be admitted, this country is not a confederate republic, and it has but two prominent sects. There is, accordingly, no necessity for establishing a university in every department of the kingdom for as many different sects as there are departments. The money devoted to the support of these institutions, is not as with us, drawn off in forty or fifty channels, (for in the United States almost every state has one or two, and some of them three and four colleges,) each of which is soon dried up. Flowing as it does in a small number only, they make the wilderness to bud and blossom as the rose. The clamour of this or that province, this or that town, that the government is *spending the people's money*, that the university is not properly situated, and their consequent refusal to re-elect those who were instrumental in making such appropriations, are here unknown. The money thus appropriated is not, as with us, applied principally to buildings, to the mere outside of literature in the form of brick, stone, and mortar; but to the establishment and increase of libraries, cabinets and apparatus.

In the universities of this country, no buildings are erected, but those which are necessary to contain the *materiel* of literature. The lectures in most of the universities are delivered in the houses of the professors. In Berlin, it is true, they are held in the university edifice, but it is in the same building where the cabinets of natural history, anatomy, &c. are assembled. In Leipzig and Halle a few of the lectures are delivered in the public edifice; but most of them are at the houses of the professors. The amount of money thus saved, to be appropriated to learning, is very great. To

illustrate this, we may refer to two facts which have come under your observation. The new granite chapel at Cambridge cost, as I have always understood, sixty thousand dollars; and the two buildings at Andover, the chapel and college, eighty thousand. Two buildings at New-Haven, corresponding, in almost every respect, with those of Andover, and equally useful, though inferior in beauty, cost 24,000 dollars, or 12,000 each. Had similar edifices been erected at those places, there would have been left a surplus of 48,000 at Cambridge, and of 56,000 at Andover, for the increase of the libraries of those institutions. This sum, judiciously expended in Europe, would have procured for the former thirty thousand, and for the latter thirty-five or forty thousand volumes of standard works. What a different prospect would such an appropriation have presented to the eye of the scholar! What an influence would two such libraries, united to those which now exist in those institutions, have exerted on the public mind! They would soon have become the favourite residences of our students, the classic ground of our country; and graduates would have resorted to them from every college in the United States, to avail themselves of their literary treasures.

The prospects of our country, in a political point of view, are very brilliant; sufficiently so to satisfy the most ardent wishes of an American. My heart beats with pride and joy when I contrast its prosperity with that of the richest countries on the continent; and when I look forward to the future, I think I can see the United States rising with a grandeur and glory unequalled since the birth of time. In a religious point of view, it is equally flattering. The activity of our benevolent and religious institutions, leads one to hope, that the time is not far distant, when the silence of our immense forests, now only broken by the shout of the savage, and the howl of the wolf, will be exchanged for the sounds of many thousand "church going bells," and that from most of its hamlets, prayer will daily ascend from hearts overflowing with gratitude and love. The rapid increase of these institutions leads one to believe that, ere long, many of the ships which spread their canvass for a Pagan land, will bear missionaries, bibles and artists, to diffuse the blessings of Christianity and civilization to those buried in ignorance and sin. But with all this to excite our joy, there is, in our

literary prospects, very little to gladden the eye. I fear that, in this respect, we are to be the by-word of monarchists. Our cannon and our commerce will make us respected, perhaps feared, but will do little to excite the admiration of the literati of Europe. Who can look at Lorenzo de Medici, without feeling far more respect for him as the patron of genius, than as the richest man of Florence? Who can look at that republic, and distinguish its proud merchants, in the blaze of its literary fame? What intelligent American can look at England, and feel half the respect for her proud triumphs, from Crecy and Poictiers to Waterloo, that he does for her Shakspeare, her Milton, her Bacon, and Newton? The arches of triumph which commemorated those victories, have, and will, crumble into oblivion; but those proud names will shine with increasing effulgence, until time shall be no more.

Our universities, in some respects, resemble those of England; which, however well they may answer in a monarchy, are very ill adapted to a republic like ours. As a nation, we are the most intelligent on earth; as a literary nation, ours is the least respectable, the Catholic countries south of us, and those in South America excepted. Commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and politics, absorb most of our thoughts; and we feel perfectly satisfied if our sons receive an education similar to that of their fathers. In this respect, we have not advanced with the spirit of the age. American travellers are proverbial on the continent for their ignorance of foreign language and literature. Even few of our foreign ministers can talk fluently in other languages than their own when they leave our shores, while almost every *valet de place*, and servant of a large hotel in Germany, Russia, or Italy, can at least speak French, and many of them English. We appear to feel extensively as if the treasures of the mind were confined to the Latin, Greek, and English languages. For this reason not only the *chef d'oeuvres* of the continental nations, but the researches they have made in oriental and modern literature, are, to most of our countrymen, sealed books. How many hundreds of our lawyers are unacquainted with the celebrated code of Napoleon, because they have never learned the French language! How large a number of our physicians are equally ignorant of the actual state of their own science in Paris, for the same reason! How few of our clergymen are suf-

ficiently acquainted with the German language, to avail themselves of the researches made in oriental literature, and of the great discoveries of the Germans in criticism.

The peculiar form of our government renders it excessively difficult to establish a university on a popular foundation, without irritating not only the feelings of every man who loves to harp upon national economy, but also of every sect throughout the state where the university is to be located. Our division into so many small republics, excites the very laudable desire in the minds of many of the inhabitants, to have a state university. The feeling with us almost universally exists, that a foundation must be laid for the religious instruction of the students. As the funds of the institution are not sufficient to endow a professorship, and build a chapel for every sect, one of them must, in this respect, be favoured; and in the eyes of the public, it is immediately transformed into an engine for promoting the views of Presbyterians, Episcopalians, or Baptists. Those belonging to other sects immediately become dissatisfied, and henceforward refuse, if they form a majority, to make the necessary appropriations to its support. If not sufficiently numerous to prevent this, they usually succeed by raising the hue and cry of wasting the public money, in which all young politicians unite, as this is the road to success at the ensuing election. Our literary institutions, like the hare, are thus hunted down; and if they escape destruction, they are compelled to pass an existence in silence, far removed from the notice of their pursuers. In this respect, a monarchical form of government possesses immense advantages over a republic. Most monarchs glory in being thought the patrons of learning, the Mæcenas of their countries. Fortunately for literature, they can dispose of the public funds to promote its prosperity, without being afraid of losing the votes of the lower classes in their vicinity. The cry of wasting the "people's money," raised by these and similar classes of society, who would rejoice to bring every one down to their own level of ignorance, as well as the poisonous breath of sectarianism, like the Simom and Sirocco, dry up all those fountains in our country which are necessary to the luxuriance of literature. Under their influence it often pines away; and if it survives, it flourishes like an exotic in a barren and frigid soil.

Were it not for our perfectly democratical form of government, we should be placed upon a footing somewhat similar to the small states of Germany. Like our individual states, they are too small in population and resources to exert much influence on the political world. Only one avenue to distinction remains, viz. that of literature. Accordingly we find in many of them, at least one university, which is patronised in the most liberal manner, and provided very abundantly with the *materiel* of instruction. A literary rivalry is thus excited, which is not only visible in the broad foundation on which they rest, but also in the strife which so generally exists among the monarchs, to obtain the most eminent literati of this country. No means within their power are left unemployed to attain the summit of excellence, and to increase the facilities for instruction. Accordingly you find that some of these states, whose territory and population are so small, as almost to escape your observation in a general survey of Europe, hold in the literary world a more distinguished rank than the country of the Czar, notwithstanding he can say with Philip, in Schiller's tragedy of Don Carlos,

"Die Sonne geht in meinem Staat nicht unter."*

Weimar, for example, with a territory not larger than many of the counties of New-York, and a population of two hundred and three thousand inhabitants, has a university of between four and five hundred students,† with two libraries, containing one hundred and forty thousand volumes, three learned societies, and several distinguished gymnasia, besides other schools of an elevated character. Baden, with a territory not so large as Massachusetts, and a population of but little over a million, has two universities, containing almost twelve hundred students, three public libraries, in which are assembled one hundred and forty thousand volumes, four lycea, and fourteen gymnasia, to say nothing of the numerous Latin schools which exist there. It is such institutions which give

* The sun never sets on my dominions.

† Before the murder of Kotzebue there were almost eleven hundred students in that university. As Sand was a student of Jena, many of the German monarchs enacted a law, forbidding any of their subjects to join that university.

to these petty kingdoms and duchies their fame, without which they would be almost unnoticed, or if observed, soon forgotten by the traveller. More learned works have issued from the university of Göttingen in less than ninety-five years, than from the whole continent of America during the three centuries which have elapsed since its discovery. It is this literary reputation which has extended the fame of these countries to the most distant lands where students exist, and their patrons, in the eyes of every philanthropist, have much more reason to glory in their prosperity, than the autocrat in his million of bayonets. Why cannot most of our states, in proportion to their population, hold the same intellectual rank in the Republic of Letters? They might easily do it, were their governments sufficiently enlightened to place our literary institutions on an equally broad foundation, provided the spirit of sectarianism would not violate the comparatively holy ground of literature, and by its proselyting breath cover it with ruin and desolation.

Before dismissing this subject, on which I have dwelt perhaps already too long, I must allude to a defect which exists in all our colleges and universities, one too, of which we seem to be totally unconscious. I allude to the appointment of tutors to instruct the three younger classes. The station itself is neither sufficiently lucrative, nor respectable, in the eyes of these young gentlemen, nor in those of the public, to induce any one of them to fix upon it as a *permanent employment.* The great majority of those who fill these places, are chosen from one to three years, after receiving their degrees. During this interval, many of them, it is true, have been employed in instruction in our grammar schools, in the hic, hæc, hoc, and the ο, η, το of Latin and Greek literature, but others have been pursuing their classical studies, and are thus less qualified to become instructers then when they were graduated. Even the former have been most of the time occupied with the rudiments of these languages, and however well they may be qualified to give instruction in this respect, they do nothing towards explaining the author exegetically, or making their hearers feel his beauties. The recitations become mere dry translations, without any allusion to the antiquities, the state of society, or the circumstances under which the author wrote, his work often mere

words, conveying ideas so faint, as to divest his poetry or prose of most of its beauty. The recitation is resorted to from necessity, consequently listened to with but little pleasure, and its termination diffuses joy over the faces of most of those who are present.

Independently of the youth and the want of preparation of this class of instructers, there is another evil quite as great, and which exists almost universally in our colleges. Most of the tutors at their appointment are pursuing their professional studies, or commence them soon after. The limited salary they receive, presents no inducement to them to continue any longer in this situation than is necessary, as each of the professions hold out to them a much more flattering prospect. Instead of devoting all their time to preparing themselves for their recitations, not a small part of it is passed in studying law, medicine, or theology. They view these places as harbours, where they can safely lie during the storm which usually darkens the prospects of young men just preparing to enter on their course of life. Their future profession is the great object of interest, and one to which most of the energies of their minds are directed. Though in instruction they comply with their prescribed duties, they rarely do much to rouse the enthusiasm of their pupils, and quite as rarely find their own excited. Were their salaries increased two-fold, and they thus enabled to marry, there would be no difficulty in finding young men of talents who would gladly avail themselves of such stations, not for a few years only, but until they, by their attainments, were called upon to fill the vacancies in the professorial chairs of the colleges and universities of our country. Instead of finding themselves treated with so little respect as they often are by students, they would in their eyes be regarded as but little inferior to the professors, as many of them, from their age and attainments, would become their equals. The remarks I have made when speaking of the importance of thoroughly educating professors for their stations, are equally applicable to this class of instructers. Their labour might be greatly diminished, if each one, like the teachers in the German universities, would confine himself to one department, and instruct all the classes in that. They would then arrive at a thorough knowledge of their particular branches of learn-

ing or science, and be enabled to excite an ardent enthusiasm among their pupils. Their instruction, instead of being as it often is, not very interesting, would be prized by most of their pupils, and the recitation bell would be to them a summons to a literary banquet, no less agreeable than that which calls them to the refectory.

LETTER XII.

BERLIN, 1826.

OF all the ill-looking and slovenly students that I have seen in Europe, there are none to be compared with those of this university. They are usually indifferently dressed, with coats and pantaloons of every fashion that has perplexed the men of the needle for the last dozen years. Most of them wear woollen shirts, of a yellowish white, or red colour. Of those who wear linen, the number is very small that have collars to this garment. A few of them, like the students in the smaller towns, still adhere to the old German dress, and wear a profusion of locks, but the number is constantly diminishing, as they are entirely unobserved in this large city. Their flannel and woollen shirts are often concealed by a vest buttoning to the throat, or by a *chemisette*, which is fastened with strings to the neck. This article of almost every German student's wardrobe, is about a foot square, covering the breast. It has a ruffle attached to it, of such dimensions, that could Dominie Sampson have seen one of them, he would have cried out "prodigious!" with more than usual emphasis. Others conceal their woollen shirts, by plaited folds of black silk, which are attached to a collar of the same material. Those of them who can afford to buy cravats, prop up their chins by means of an enormous stiffener, which renders it almost as difficult for them to behold their feet, as it was for Falstaff to see his knees. With few exceptions, they wear caps of black cloth, with a crown from one to two inches in height. These cover only the top of the head, and are so small, as to bear the same proportion to their craniums, as a clam shell to the skull of a monkey.

Most of the students are very poor; but, although they are not clad in the most modern costume, and have but little gracefulness, they are exceedingly industrious. Many of them make their breakfasts upon a piece of dry bread, which they eat in the

lecture-rooms, or in the lobby of the university, during the interim between the lectures. They are the most studious of any of the students whom I have seen, and appear actuated by a most ardent desire to acquire knowledge. Although not required to be present at the lectures, they are very rarely absent. As they are under no restraint, they attend what lectures they please, and when they please; and, although they are permitted to return home, *ad libitum*, they so rarely avail themselves of this privilege, that the lecture-rooms are as well filled during the last week of the course as during the first. You cannot cast a glance at them, without discovering that they are not very clean in their exterior; still they manifest such enthusiasm in the pursuit of knowledge, (for not a small proportion of them, are bearing up under the pressure of the greatest poverty,) that you cannot fail to respect them.

In the lecture-rooms, they universally take notes, and write with as great rapidity as if they were listening to the instructions of the Pope. It is objected by foreigners to this custom, so universal in the German universities, that the students write too much, and depend entirely on the *ipse dixit* of the professor, and that, as a consequence, they do not exercise their own powers, but become the mere parrots of his opinions. An anecdote, illustrative of this eagerness of the students to write down every thing that the professor utters, and of the supposed value of their note books, was related to me while at Göttingen. A young man from Hesse Cassel, who had passed three years at the university of Heidelberg, having finished his education, started for home with nearly twenty volumes of notes which he had taken at the lectures. On the way, his trunk, containing his note books, was cut off from the carriage. He was so distressed in consequence of this robbery, for he regarded it as the loss of his education, that he returned to Heidelberg, and studied three years longer, to provide himself with a trunk full of learning. This anecdote, it is true, exhibits the eagerness of the students to collect the opinions and remarks of the professors, in rather a ludicrous light. A short residence at a German university, however, will convince any one, that this habit results not so much from a belief that the professors are oracular, as from the peculiar circumstances in which the students are placed. Most of them are in such indigent circum-

stances, not only at the university, but even for several years after they have become lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and instructers in the gymnasia, that they are unable to purchase many books. The notes which they take, contain not only extracts of the lectures, but a list of all the authorities referred to by the professor, with the chapters and sections. When investigating similar subjects afterwards, instead of being compelled to search a long time for the works in which they are discussed, they are able to refer to them immediately. Many of the professors have likewise their own peculiar theories, which are not to be found in any published work; for they often do not publish the substance of their lectures until late in life. Besides, nine persons out of ten, can give much closer attention to a subject when they write an abstract of it, than when they merely listen to the lecture.

The students in Berlin are not divided into *Landsmannschaften* as in the universities which are situated in the smaller towns, and duels very seldom occur among them. I have now been here nearly six months, and have heard of but one. This city is so large, that they are almost lost in it; and, as they assemble only at the lectures, they find few opportunities for picking a quarrel. The magnitude of Berlin, and the efficiency of the police, prevent them from adopting any customs and rules respecting the side walks, which are enforced with so much rigour by the *Burschen* of Göttingen, Jena, and Heidelberg. In these small towns, the students bear so large a proportion to the citizens, that they usually control them. Here they form so small a minority, that they are almost unobserved. A residence in a large city also, has a tendency to soften and refine the manners of every individual; and even a German *Bursch* is much less savage here than elsewhere. Rows very seldom take place between them and the police, like those in the universities just mentioned, and at Halle and Leipzig.

In the smaller towns, difficulties occur not unfrequently, and sometimes assume a very serious character. In Halle, a few years since, the students armed themselves with swords and clubs, fought a regular battle with the police and military, and succeeded in driving them out of the city, a number being wounded on each side. As the armed force was soon increased, the students left the town, and marching to one of the neighbouring villages, made an

encampment, where they remained several days, until a treaty was concluded between them and their enemies, through the mediation of some of the professors. In Leipzig, such disorders are frequent. Whenever a student has been insulted by one of the police, the cry of *die Burschen*, *die Burschen heraus*, or "turn out *Burschen*," is shouted from window to window, and from street to street, by the fourteen hundred students of that university, until all other sounds are lost in this united shout of thunder. Out of every door, issue from two to half a dozen *Burschen*, who direct themselves to one of the squares, and prepare for combat. The police, on such occasions, arm themselves with an instrument called a *Stange*. It is a piece of wood, if I mistake not, somewhat in the form of a heavy club, with an elastic piece of steel attached to it. Whenever the students thus assemble in considerable numbers, with riotous intentions, the police approach them, and throw the *Stange* on the pavement. The curve of this instrument is so elastic, that it will bound several rods, and fall with so much force as to injure severely those whom it strikes. It is thus thrown to disperse them, as it can be made, by one who has had a little practice, to bound in any direction. This sometimes produces the desired effect, after several of them have been wounded. The students not unfrequently prepare for such attacks, by arming themselves with long poles, and, as the *Stange* is bounded at them, they throw it off, and then make a charge upon the police, who, as they are not very numerous, are almost always put to flight by the overwhelming force of their opponents.

In Leipzig, whenever a landlord has offended one of the students, and will not make a suitable apology, he is declared by them to be in *Verschiss;** that is, infamous. All those who then had rooms in his house leave him, and no one dares afterwards to enter it. Should he at any subsequent period make an apology, and the

* This word is not very classical, having been coined by the students of that University. There are a great number of words and expressions made use of by the members of these institutions, which are almost unintelligible to the Germans at large. Even the researches of German philologists will throw no light upon the conversation of the *Burschen*. It is often as unlike the language of the literati, as the idiomatic phrases of the Venetian gondoliers, and Neapolitan Lazzaroni, are unlike the pure Tuscan of Boccacio or Machiavelli.

individual offended declare that ample satisfaction had been received, this bull of excommunication is announced to be null and void. In Göttingen, the police resort to another mode to disperse the students. As soon as they discover that there is a prospect of a riot, they approach them in battle array, armed with sticks, to the middle of which a rope is attached. If they do not disperse at the first summons, they throw this among them, and then run in an opposite direction, retaining the end of the rope in their hands. The stick thus coming in contact with their legs, usually trips them up. As soon as they are down, the police advance, take them prisoners, and conduct them to the university prison, unless they should be rescued by their brethren.

Very serious difficulties not unfrequently occur between the students and the government of the universities. You probably recollect seeing in our papers, some few years since, an account of all the students of the university of Göttingen having left the institution for some cause of this kind. During my residence there last summer, the government of that university enacted a law, requiring the students, in case they should be present at any duel, to appear as witnesses. As the friends of the parties concerned, are usually invited to be present in considerable numbers at these combats, they saw themselves under the necessity of being called upon at any moment to testify against their companions. This law raised the ire of the *Burschen* to a boiling point. The *Landsmannschaften* were immediately assembled, when they unanimously voted, with the exception of that of Hanover, that they would leave the university, unless this law was repealed. The Hanoverians were excepted, as a law exists in the kingdom, that if any student shall be expelled from that institution, he shall ever afterwards be incapable of holding any office under government. As this punishment would for ever destroy their future hopes in life, even the most violent students admitted that they might remain without sacrificing their honour. Every other member of the university, however, who refused to leave it, was to be considered unworthy of the name of a *Bursch*, and to be treated like a Philister. They agreed to depart in the night, to break the windows of all those who refused to join them, and then compel them to do it by force. At a subsequent meeting of the presidents

of the *Landsmannschaften*, it was resolved to apply to the government of Hanover, previously to the execution of these measures, and to ascertain whether they would not alter the law enacted by that of the university. Several of these presidents were appointed a committee to proceed to the capital, and lay their complaint before that body. On application to the government, their petition was heard, but no definite answer was given until the *Semester* was ended, when the decision of the directors of the university was confirmed. The next term, the number of students decreased from one to two hundred, and Göttingen, which a short time before had stood numerically the second among the German universities, now sunk to the third or fourth place.

No American can visit one of these institutions, unless that of Berlin, and perhaps those of Austria be excepted, who is not struck with the great want of an operative religious influence among the students. In most, all of those which are situated in the small towns, there is a university chapel, where there is regularly preaching. As the students are not required to attend, few others than the theological students attend divine service, unless when attracted by some eloquent preacher. The majority of the professors, even those of theology, disbelieve the revelation of the Old Testament, and regard its authority with no more reverence than that of the Iliad or the Aneid.* Many of them look even upon the New Testament as uninspired. They admit that the instructions of Christ contain a most beautiful system of morality, much purer than the writings of Socrates, Plato, and Seneca, but still worthy of our observation, only so far as it corresponds with the dictates of reason. Of course it has, in their view, no obligatory force, any further than it tends to promote the happiness of society. The miracles of the Old, and often those of the New Testament, are explained away in conversation and in their lecture rooms, and the inspiration of the Apostles, and sometimes of Christ, is publicly denied. As many of them are men of immense research, they are able to present arguments in support of their opinions, which the students find it impossible to answer. Consequently, whatever views they may have entertained on their entrance, they soon

* I except here the universities of Berlin and Tübingen, where a majority of the theological professors believe in the revelation of the Old Testament.

coincide with the professor. The critical investigation of the German divines during the last fifty years, have destroyed the belief of the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament in Germany, to such an extent, that the majority of intelligent Germans now regard them as of no higher authority, than the works of profane writers. No orthodox writer has yet appeared, who has been able, in their view, to overthrow the arguments which have been advanced. Even many of the nominally orthodox disbelieve its inspiration, and adopt the opinion, that the books were written at a much later period than that generally assigned to them. This class generally believe that the histories which they contain are true, and some of them admit the truth of the miracles there related. They will, however, acknowledge very extensively, that the arguments against their authenticity are such, as have not been satisfactorily met, and some will confess that they can not answer them. The students, as you may suppose, very rarely attach much importance to the Old Testament, and it is studied by them more as a monument of ancient history and literature, than as a spiritual guide through life. On the subject of the New Testament, there is also the greatest diversity of opinion, though the majority of the professors in every department unite in disbelieving it.

As the sabbath is derived from the Old Testament, you will readily believe, that in a country where most of the literati and clergy deny the purity of the source, they will not regard the sanctity of an institution which is its fruit. As Christ and the Apostles have, in no one instance, alluded to the *Christian Sabbath* as binding upon us in the Mosaic sense, even those who believe in their inspiration, will not admit that it is obligatory upon Christians. I believe I am within the bounds of truth, in asserting, that there are not five orthodox professors and clergymen in Germany, who esteem the Sabbath in any other light, than as a Mosaic institution.* Its influence on the students, it may be supposed, is exceedingly limited, except as it furnishes the means of contributing to their health, for with them it is peculiarly the day for hunting, riding, shooting, and fighting duels. The observance of this day, which is

* After repeated inquiries made on this subject, I could never hear of a single clergyman, who regarded the Sabbath as obligatory in the same sense that we do in the United States.

perhaps the most efficient means of promoting morality among our own students, is by those of this country so neglected, or worse than neglected, that probably no day in the week beholds so much iniquity as this.

In the literary institutions of the United States, the church, the clergy, and the theological students, possess a very auspicious influence in promoting morality among the students. In the Lutheran church, however, the church is the world, and the world the church, and as there is no discipline, its influence is very limited. In the examination of the theological students antecedently to their admission into the desk, the only question which usually comes before the consistory, is that which respects their intellectual qualifications for the office of a preacher. If found thus qualified, they are admitted to preach without hesitation. As nothing else is required, any man can enter the desk, and after he has commenced his career, the public will find him very little changed. Unbelievers and believers enter together, and religion will prevail very much in the ratio of their comparative numbers. The theological students in the universities usually pursue this profession from a peculiar attachment to it, from love for the tranquillity of a clergyman's life, or from its presenting more flattering prospects than any other. It is not thought necessary for them before they enter the desk to be scrupulously moral. They may occasionally fight a duel, and an instance or two of intoxication would not be a sufficient ground in the eyes of the consistory, to exclude them from this profession. Of the comparative morality of this and the other classes of students, it is impossible for me to form an accurate opinion. From what the Germans themselves say, I am convinced that they are less immoral than others, though there is certainly no great difference between many of them and their companions in the other professions. From this sketch you will see, that there is a great difference between the influence which they exert, and that of the same class with us. Other students here who do not peruse their bibles, when they see such fruits, usually suspect that the tree is corrupt, and revelation is consequently almost lost upon them.

The government of many of the universities is very inefficient. In all of these institutions there are laws against duelling, but like

those who are capitally convicted in England, not one in ten is punished.* Of the duels which occurred at Göttingen, during my residence there, not one case in a dozen came to the knowledge of the government; and the punishment of those who were discovered was very inadequate to the offence. It was merely a confinement in the university prison for a few days. There the student remained, amusing himself with his books and his pipe, and in receiving visits from his friends, who consoled him with the assurance that it was heroic to suffer in such a cause.

Every student in that university, and probably in most others, promises at the time of his admission, that he will not be engaged in any duel, so long as he remains a member. Most of them, however, become principals in several, and not a small number in many combats. These duels are always known to many of the students before they take place. The police officers often skulk about the town and vicinity, to discover the parties concerned; but they rarely do it until after they have terminated their contest. Duels are fought at noonday, in the rooms of those students who reside in the most populous streets, while no precaution is taken by the combatants, but that of shutting the windows and locking the door. It is so easy to avoid detection, that the danger of discovery ceases almost to be thought of.

If the government of the university are so desirous of eradicating this evil, why do they allow all the weapons for duelling to be sold in the towns where the universities are situated? Why do they not seize upon the armories of the *Landsmannschaften?* Why do they compel the students to promise that they will not be engaged in any combat, knowing as they do that so long as no effectual measures are taken to prevent them, their promises are empty air? Why are they not dismissed when they have broken their word? If a student utters a syllable against the politics of the state, he is so speedily and effectually† punished that there is a general

* The students when convicted are not pardoned, but the efforts made to detect them are so inefficient, that no anxiety is felt by the combatants.

† Many of the students who were engaged in forming the political clubs existing a few years since in the German universities, were imprisoned, and sent to the penitentiaries. Some of them have already been confined for a number of years; and no one, not even their parents, know any thing of their

silence afterwards on such subjects; why is he not thus punished when he breaks the laws of the university? In cases of necessity its government can command the assistance of thousands of bayonets to support it, and to carry its laws into effect. If every student were to be expelled who was either principal or second in one of these combats, they would cease in one month, and would soon be regarded by the young men with the same contempt and abhorrence as by their parents. This measure would be effectual, since a law exists in this country that no student, once expelled, shall be received at another university. All the political clubs were suppressed a few years since, and the students dare not now allude publicly to this subject. This was effected without the least difficulty. Why do they allow the Landsmannschaften to exist year after year, when every professor and every citizen knows as well as the students, that they are nothing more nor less than duelling societies? The name implies a patriotic association, but every one who has resided a month at a German university discovers, that they have nothing to do with love of country, but are established merely to keep alive a spirit of *bullying*. Were these associations once abolished, and every such violation of a promise punished as it merits, we should soon hear no more of this great enemy of morality in these institutions.

But the great difficulty, it is said, lies here. Every state is proud of its university, and is very desirous to increase as much as possible the number of its students, as well from the great reputation which these institutions attach to the duchy or kingdom where they are situated, as from the large amount of money which they bring into circulation.* The professors, who receive the greater part of their incomes from their private lectures, are of

fate. During the month of May, two months after the date of the above letter, many more were condemned to two, four, and ten years imprisonment; and one or two, for life. Vide the Berlin papers for May 1826, which contain the royal decree.

* The money spent in Göttingen and Berlin, by the fifteen or sixteen hundred students, cannot be less than four or five hundred thousand dollars per annum. About one half of the students of every university are usually foreigners. Half of this sum then comes from abroad.

course dependent in a measure on the numbers of the students who resort to the university. Their literary fame is in some measure also connected with the number of their auditors. The conviction of the young Germans is so universal that it is necessary for them to fight at least one duel, that very many of them would probably refuse to join a university where a heavy penalty should visit the first offence. The number of students would thus be greatly diminished; and the professors, as well as the state, would find their incomes much lessened. Were one university, however, to adopt a severe system of discipline in this respect, although at first it might be a loser, I am convinced that it would in a few years, *cæteris paribus*, be a great gainer. Many parents would send their sons to such an institution in preference to others which are more lawless; and the students themselves, after a little experience, would become reconciled to it. In consequence of the great excesses of the students in the university of Tübingen, during the autumn of 1825, the government of Würtemberg abolished the government of that institution, and sent an extraordinary civil commissioner, with full power to put an end to these disturbances. A division of the royal gendarmes was quartered in the city to assist him in putting down all opposition. A law was enacted, that if any student should challenge one of his companions, or one of the citizens, he should be publicly punished. How far this law has been executed, and what has been its effect, I am unable to say; as the time of its enactment (December, 1825) is too recent, and the distance of Tübingen is too great, for me to ascertain. If the other governments of Germany would imitate that of Würtemberg, and carry such a law into vigorous execution, we should soon hear no more of these contemptible quarrels.

In 1821, there were twenty-two universities in Germany containing, according to Hassel, 10,600 students, and 860 instructers. Since that time the number of students and instructers have greatly increased. According to a list of the German universities, published in one of the Berlin papers, April 21, 1826, there were in 1825 16,432 students, and 1059 instructers, shewing a gain of 5832 students, and of 199 instructers in four years, By instructers are understood Ordinary and Extraordinary professors and teachers. According to the writer of this article, Catholic Germany now con-

tains about nineteen millions* of inhabitants, and has but six universities. In Protestant Germany there are seventeen millions of inhabitants, and sixteen universities. This writer has reference here to the number of Catholic and Protestant universities, for in some Protestant countries there are one or more Catholic universities; and in Bavaria, which is Catholic, there is a Protestant university at Erlangen. If, however, we compare the Catholic countries with the Protestant, we shall be able to form a more correct idea of their comparative patronage of literature. The Catholic countries, where universities are situated, are Austria, Bavaria, and Baden. German Austria has the two universities of Vienna and Prague with 3137 students. Bavaria has the three universities Landshut, Erlangen, and Würzburg, with 1781 students. Baden has the universities, of Freyburg and Heidleberg, with 1182 students. These countries which according to the most recent censusses, contained between fourteen and fifteen millions of inhabitants, have seven universities, with 6100 students. The Protestant countries which have universities, are Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Hesse Cassel, Hesse Darmstadt, Holstein, Mecklenburg, Schwerin, and Weimar. Basle, as it is in Switzerland, is here omitted, although it is much resorted to by the Germans. These countries with a population of between fifteen and sixteen millions, have fourteen universities, containing moro than 10,000 students. In this estimate, the small states which have no universities are excluded, as they frequent those of other Catholic and Protestant countries. I here transcribe a list of all the Universities of this country.

	Universities.	*Number of Instructers.*	*Number of Students.*
Prussia,	Berlin,	86	1526
	Breslau,	49	710
	Bonn,	56	931
	Königsburg,	23	303
	Greifswalde,	30	227
	Halle,	54	1119

* This estimate of the population of Germany is too great. There cannot be more than thirty-four millions of inhabitants at the present time, (viz. 1826) in all the states of Germany, as eight years since when the last census, which I have seen of all the German states was taken, there were less than thirty-two millions.

Austria,	Vienna,	77	1688
	Prague,	55	1449
Bavaria,	Erlangen,	34	498
	Landshut,	48	623
	Würzburg,	31	660
Baden,	Heidelberg,	55	626
	Freyburg,	35	556
Switzerland,	Basle,	24	214
Würtemberg,	Tübingen,	44	827
Hesse Darmstadt,	Giesen,	39	371
Hesse Cassel,	Marburg,	38	304
Hanover,	Göttingen,	89	1545
Weimar,	Jena,	51	432
Saxony,	Leipzig,	81	1384
Mecklenburg,	Rostock,	34	201
Holstein,	Kiel,	26	238
		1059	16,432

The instructers include the Ordinary and Extraordinary Professors and Teachers. In the account of the number of students in Berlin, there was an error, which is here corrected. This catalogue, you will admit, is a splendid exhibition of the patronage which learning has received in Germany. As many of the Germans resort to the university of Basle, I have included that in the number. This list is for the year 1825.

The medical students in the German universities, form more than one-fourth part of the whole number. In 1825, the whole number of students was between sixteen and seventeen thousand, at least five thousand of whom belonged to this department. Such an army of doctors issuing forth every three years from those institutions, would be terrifying to any nation but the Germans. It is to a considerable extent, the custom in this country, for each family to have its family physician, who calls every two or three weeks to ascertain the state of their health, in order to anticipate disease. At the end of the year he receives a present from the family for this service, proportioned to their means and liberality. Besides this he has separate fees for visiting them when sent for. The fees of the physicians are regulated by an ordinance of the government of the cities. In Berlin, it is about seventy-five cents for the first and fifty for every subsequent visit, though foreigners are expected to quadruple it. Considering their ability, for they are as a body perhaps surpassed by those of no other city of its size, they certainly work much more reasonably, than any other class of professional men within my knowledge.

All the German governments support the medical department of the universities very liberally. They are very well provided with cabinets of anatomy, of mineralogy, and with botanical gardens. Here, as well as in some other countries of Germany, there is "a Minister for Religion, Education, and Medical affairs." As the medical department does not in the remotest degree interfere with politics, it is thought worthy of peculiar patronage. No individual is allowed to receive the title of M. D., until he has completed his three years' course at one of the universities. In Prussia, every student must repair to Berlin before he is permitted to practise, where he is minutely examined by a medical committee, and unless he is pronounced well qualified, he must return to the university and continue his studies. The advantages for acquiring a complete education are so numerous, and the hospitals are so extensive in the large cities, that no one can fail of becoming a good theoretical and practical physician, if he has a moderate share of talents and industry. The Prussians, and in truth all the northern Germans, pride themselves not a little on the talents and attainments of their medical professors. In reputation, the medical faculty is not surpassed by any of the other three. They display the same general knowledge of their professions as gentlemen of other departments, and are to a very considerable degree familiar with the past and present state of their science in Europe and in our own country. I have seen on the table of a physician, the medical journals of Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, Silliman's Journal of Science, the North American Review, &c. with many of the periodicals of Paris, London, and other cities of Europe. Several of their physicians have conversed with me respecting Messieurs Physic, Chapman, Hosack, Post, Warren, and other eminent physicians of our country, more in the manner of Americans familiar with the reputation of these gentlemen, than as residents of the centre of Europe.

The Prussian government, a few years since, sent Mr. Lichtenstein, professor of natural history in this university, to the Cape of Good Hope, to examine the physical character of southern Africa. He remained there a number of years, and during his travels in that part of the continent, made very interesting and valuable collections in zoology, ornithology, botany and minera-

logy, which he brought with him on his return to his native land. In consequence of these and other additions, the cabinet of natural history has become superior to any I have seen in Europe, excepting that of the Garden of Plants at Paris. In the Botanical Garden there are many thousand plants from South America, Africa, and India, carefully preserved in hot-houses, where, by the aid of artificial heat, they are made to flourish in almost the same beauty as in their native climes. These buildings contain, not only the plants, but many of the trees of those climates, some of which have reached the height of forty or fifty feet. In such collections the eye travels from country to country, and from continent to continent, with almost the rapidity of thought, becomes acquainted with the productions of sea, sky, and air; and in a short period the student acquires a more thorough knowledge of the productions of distant lands, than by the perusal of books for years. What immense resources does America present to the natural historian! How rich are our forests in quadrupeds and birds! What beauty do the vegetable productions of Mexico and the tropical regions of South America exhibit! Are they not worthy of a small portion of the time of our students? How long must our young men go to Europe to study the ornithology and zoology of our own country, because extensive collections cannot be found at home? Is not this subject worthy of the attention of our government? The despotic monarchs of Europe are sending expeditions to the most distant quarters of the globe, to investigate the natural history of every country; and minerals, plants, animals, birds, &c., are transported to Europe at a great expense, that the boundaries of the human mind may be enlarged. Shall we, with a revenue almost double our expenditures, do nothing to promote so desirable an object? In this time of peace, which promises to continue for a long period, how could our naval officers and our men of science be employed with so much profit to themselves and our country? A few such expeditions would remove the stigma that now rests upon us, viz. that we are indifferent to science and literature.

The Faculty of Law in the German universities differs much from that of England and the United States. It is divided into two departments, Roman and German law. The former is never studied

with us. Here, it not only holds a prominent place in the education of a lawyer, but is the foundation on which it rests. By glancing your eye at the Index Lectionum in the appendix, you will see what influence the old Romans still exert over the minds of the German lawyers. Within the last ten years, a number of the professors of law in the German universities have asserted that the civil law contains all that is necessary for the jurisdiction of modern nations. This opinion has been attacked and defended with great ability. A contest has thus arisen, and still exists, which has divided Germany into two parties. The *Historic School*, the champion of which is Savigny, professor of Roman law in the university of Berlin, and whom the Germans regard as the first lawyer in Europe, maintains, that an intimate acquaintance with the laws, customs, opinions, and state of society of the ancient Romans, is all that is necessary for the government of society. This opinion which has been first proposed since the Congress of Vienna, is now adopted by many of the most eminent jurists of Germany.

The other party is led by Thiebaut, a professor in the university of Heidelberg, and enrols among its supporters many individuals of great learning. They contend that the constitution of society was so changed by the abolition of the Feudal system, that the laws of the Romans are very inadequate to the present state of Europe; that it is, therefore, necessary to form laws adapted to the existing state of society, and not to borrow them from countries whose religion, customs, and national character, were so essentially different from those of Europe at the present time. As my legal knowledge is too imperfect to form an opinion on this subject, I shall not venture one. The latter doctrine has the appearance of truth at the first glance; but I can easily believe that such a mind as that of Savigny might induce any one, who is not a lawyer, to embrace his opinion. His work, on this subject, for research, and for an intimate knowledge of his profession, is regarded in this country, as without a rival in any language. That of Thiebaut is thought only inferior to that of his opponent.

The tribunals of Prussia are under the direction of two ministers. The first is minister for the administration of justice in those provinces which are governed by the Prussian code of laws; the

second is minister for those provinces which are governed by the code of Napoleon. In the provinces, on the Rhine, the latter code prevails: the laws of Prussia are in force throughout the rest of the kingdom. The Courts of Prussia of the first class are,

I. The *Secret Upper Tribunal.* From this court there is no appeal. It has from ten to fifteen Judges, with a President, or Chief Justice, at their head. The President receives a salary of six thousand rix dollars. The compensation of the other judges, who are called *Räthe*, or Counsellors, from two to three thousand. Here both civil and criminal processes are brought, and receive their last decision.

II. The *Upper Court of Appeal at Posen.* This is the capital of Prussian Poland. This court was established, if I mistake not, when this part of Poland was last united to Prussia. This province, or grand duchy, as it is now called, contains, at the present time, between nine hundred thousand and a million of inhabitants.

III. *Revision und Kassationshof für die Rheinprovinzen zu Berlin.* This Court of Cassation, as it is usually called, was established exclusively as a court of appeal for the Rhine Provinces, after they were united to Prussia, in 1815. All the courts, in that part of the kingdom, are governed by the code of Napoleon; but its authority, by a recent decree of the Prussian government, is to expire on the first of January, 1828; and after that period the Prussian code will be the only one in force throughout the kingdom. The inhabitants of the Rhine provinces have become very much attached to the laws introduced by Napoleon, from the influence of time, as well as from the publicity of the proceedings of these courts, and the belief that justice is much more equitably administered there than in the eastern tribunals of Prussia. They have sent many petitions to the government against the abolition of the French code, but the desire of having a uniform system of legislation, and, if you may believe the people, the fear also of having their courts too narrowly inspected, have occasioned the rejection of the petition. Fortunately, we know nothing of the vexations to which the lawyers, and still more the people, are exposed, from this frequent change of the laws. Few changes could produce such a revulsion in the public mind in our country, as the abolition of our laws, and the introduction of another system. That this should

excite great opposition, at least of sentiment, cannot be surprising; and nothing but absolute necessity can justify the Prussian government for resorting to this measure.

This court of Cassation is the only one in Berlin where spectators are admitted, and this will soon cease to exist. In the Rhine provinces, as well as in France, all criminal cases are decided by juries; but in this court of appeal the judges determine every question. With the lawyers, as well as the government of Prussia, a very strong prejudice prevails against juries. With the former it is so universal, that, perhaps, five cannot be found in the eastern part of the kingdom, who are advocates for their introduction into the Prussian courts. Many of the inhabitants of this division of of Prussia, as well as all those in the Rhine provinces, are strongly in favour of them. The objection which the lawyers make to them is this, that it is impossible for one who is not acquainted with all the intricacies of the law, to make those nice distinctions, which will enable him to discover truth through the chaos of doubt, which the council throw around even a criminal question. The king of Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph, who has just deceased, sent, a few years since, a very distinguished lawyer of that country to England, for the express purpose of visiting the courts of Great Britain, with the intention, if he made a favourable report, of introducing juries into his dominions. This gentleman, after having occupied nearly a year in the examination, on his return to Bavaria, reported against the expediency of introducing them. The courts of that country were, in consequence, continued on their old foundation. In that part of Bavaria which is west of the Rhine, in Baden, and in the Rhine provinces, trial by jury still exists, as the code of Napoleon has not been there abolished.

The second class of courts are called *Oberlandesgerichte*, or courts of the second *Instanz*, or degree. They are established in all the Prussian provinces, those of the Rhine and Posen excepted. As a substitute for these, there is, for the former, a court of appeal at Cologne; and for the latter, the *Landesgerichte* of the second degree. In these courts both civil and criminal processes are issued. Here the clergy, all those who hold civil and military offices and the nobility are tried, and have processes issued. The peasantry and citizens, however, cannot sue and be sued, or be tried

here. These courts, of which there are seventeen in Prussia, have from eight to twenty *Räthe*, or counsellors, who officiate as judges. At the head of the *Räthe* is a President or supreme Judge, who receives from two to four thousand rix dollars; and the *Räthe* from eight hundred to a thousand, the salaries varying in the different provinces.

The third and inferior class of courts are called *die Untern Gerichte*. Here all causes are decided, except those in which noblemen, clergymen, and those who hold offices under the government are parties. These courts, when they are held in the towns, are called *Stadtgerichte;* when in the country, *Kreis* or *Patrimonialgerichte*. The corresponding courts in the Rhine provinces and Posen, are called *die Friedengerichte*, or courts of peace. They have each of them a president, with a salary of from two to three thousand rix dollars, and a number of *Justiz räthe*, or counsellors of justice, as assistant judges, who receive from eight hundred to a thousand. I have stated thus particularly the salaries of the judges of Prussia, that you may compare them with those of our own. You will see that there is at least one country, where those who hold offices under government are not rewarded with more liberality than in the United States. Since the reign of Frederick the Great, economy has been the ruling principle of the Prussian government, and it has operated with greater effect than in any other country of Europe. By his system of economy, Frederick was enabled to support, during most of his life, an army of two hundred thousand men. To his foreign ministers, he allowed but six thousand dollars, and there were few of them who were not almost ruined, after a short residence at a foreign court; unless, like most of those who are sent from our own country, they lived in comparative retirement. The same system is still pursued. The ministers of the king receive but nine thousand rix-dollars; his ambassadors at the larger courts but twelve thousand; and, at the smaller courts, a much smaller sum. In extending this system of economy to her representatives at foreign courts, Prussia always appears to the inhabitants of the European capitals as the country of poverty; and were it not, that her envoys derive some consolation, from seeing an equally rigid parsimony on the part of the United States, they would scarcely be able to appear with bold

faces, at a ministerial dinner. If a "fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind" in diplomatic as well as in common life, there must be a very strong attachment between the ambassadors of the Prussian monarch and most of those from our own country.*

In 1820, there were issued from the courts in Prussia, with the exception of those of the Rhine provinces and Posen, 345,811 civil processes. In this part of the kingdom there was, at that time, a population of six or seven millions. In Bavaria, during the year ending September, 1820, there were issued 82,145, to a population of a little more than three and a half millions. From this statement you will see that litigation is not confined to limited monarchies or republics.

The courts of Prussia, as has been already observed, are all held in secret, except those of the provinces bordering the Rhine, and the court of cassation in this city. This practice must appear to every American, as a great violation of the rights of man, and cannot fail to remind him of the tribunals of the inquisition, and of the secret councils of the senate of Venice. No one, not even the wife or parent of the individual accused, knows what is the progress of the trial, or can even conjecture what will be the result

* The effect of this penurious, or more properly speaking, mean allowance, by Congress, to our diplomatic representatives, is felt by every American who travels in Europe. In the eyes of a farmer west of the Alleghany, a salary of nine thousand dollars seems like a royal income; but when it is remembered, that half this sum is necessary to pay for the rent of a mansion, suitable to a minister in London or Paris, this "mountain of gold," sinks down at once. If an envoy from the United States is to associate on terms of equality with those of other nations, it is necessary that he should be provided with the means of subsistence, instead of exposing him to daily mortification by this pitiful economy. Our ministers are almost unknown in most of the capitals of Europe, and when seen, they pass almost unobserved. The expenses of living on the continent are nearly twice as great now as they were fifty years since, when with a handsome debt, we felt able to give them the present compensation.

Our present minister at Paris, has made the station which he fills much more respectable in the eyes of the inhabitants of that city, than it has been at any previous period during many years. He is the only ambassador to France for a long period, who has not been compelled to live in retirement. The noble hospitality exhibited by him towards his countrymen, will long be remembered by all those who have had the pleasure of visiting him.

of the decision, until it is made known. It would certainly appear to us, or to Englishmen, or to Frenchmen, as if great injustice might be practised behind the curtain. Although the Prussians are decidedly opposed to this secrecy, very many of them acknowledge that justice is administered in an equitable manner, and believe that the government does not interfere in influencing the decisions of the judges. Some of the lawyers even pride themselves on the impartiality and rectitude of their judges, in which respect they think them superior to those of all other countries. So long, however, as the judges are dependent upon the government for their places, they must be possessed of stern integrity, not to be biassed in favour of that power by which they are elevated, and by which they can at any moment be depressed. This is greatly to be feared in a country like Prussia, where every judicial trial is held in secret, and where nothing but the result is made known. There are cases, however, both criminal and civil, where the decisions are against the government, and which exhibit an independence very honourable to the judiciary. The late decisions in the trials of the students, who, a few years since, were accused of forming treasonable conspiracies against the government, and some of whom have been recently condemned to the penitentiaries for a number of years, have excited not a little indignation in this country, and have done more than any thing else to make these secret courts unpopular. All that the government saw fit to disclose in these cases, was, that they were found guilty of conspiring against it. We should think that the parents, the brothers, and sisters of the unfortunate young men, had a right to demand the proof of their guilt. This the Prussian government did not deign to make known. It was asserted only, that they were guilty; and, in consequence, the students were sent to linger for six, eight, or ten years, in their respective prisons.

No country possesses more learned lawyers, in proportion to its population, than Prussia. Before they are permitted to practice in the lower courts, they are required to pass an examination, in which they must appear to be very thoroughly acquainted with Roman and German law; and must, at the same time, write a Latin dissertation on some subject connected with their profession. Several

years afterwards they are examined a second time, when another legal dissertation in Latin must be published and approved of, before they can practice in the higher courts. In this respect we should do well to imitate them, but in no other. Heaven protect us from judges who are daily dependent upon the will of the government for their sustenance, from secret trials, and from the abolition of our juries. The independence of the judiciary, the trial by jury, and the publicity of proceedings in our courts, are the corner stones of our freedom. Remove them, and we shall soon weep over the ruin of our country's freedom.

Capital punishments are inflicted in Prussia for the crimes of murder, treason, burning a house where life is destroyed, and for commanding a band of robbers. They are inflicted in three different ways. First, by decapitation, which is always done with a large sword, and secondly, by breaking upon the wheel. There are two modes of inflicting this punishment. The first is called the *Upper*, by which the head is broken first, and afterwards the breast and limbs. This is much the least painful of the two, as death immediately takes place. The other is called the *Under*. The mode here is to break the limbs first, and afterwards the breast and head. The torture is thus prolonged, as if nothing but this refined cruelty were adequate satisfaction for the offence. How, in such a country as Prussia, in the nineteenth century, so barbarous a punishment should exist—one which is worthy of Ibrahim Pacha or of the inquisition only, I find it impossible to account for. If possible, however, its barbarity is inferior to the third mode, which is burning alive. This rarely takes place, but the law is still in existence, and few years since an instance occurred here. A man, and a young woman of about twenty years of age, had been detected in setting fire to a number of houses, by the conflagration of which several persons were burned to death. At their execution, which took place without the walls, a large heap of combustible materials was collected, to the centre of which they were fastened, and the torch was applied. With an indifference which none but an Atheist could exhibit, they met their fate, undaunted by the crowd of spectators who witnessed their torments. The Prussians still justify this barbarity, on the principle, that crimes of such enormity, deserve a punishment similar to the character of the crime. Exe-

cution by the guillotine, or even by hanging, barbarous as this last mode is, is happiness to such torments as the criminal is exposed to here, and which disgrace no part of the civilized world except Prussia and Turkey.

The government of Prussia consists of three bodies, of which the first is the Chancellor of State. Under the king, he has the inspection of every other branch of the government. In case of misconduct on the part of the ministers, he can suspend them from office, with the approbation of the monarch. He is the President of the Council, and has five departments under his immediate direction and control. The second is the Ministry, properly so called, of which there are eleven departments. The third is the Council of State. Before this body every thing is brought relating to peace and war, and the internal administration of the kingdom. To this council the sons of the king belong, when they have arrived at eighteen years of age. The Chancellor of State is the President of the Council, which consists of the Ministry, and such other persons as the king is pleased to appoint.

Prussia is divided into ten departments or provinces. Each province is divided into three *Regierungs bezirke*, or districts, and each district into from two to four *Kreise* or circuits.

At the head of each province is placed an *Oberpräsident*, or high president. The military, however, are not subject to his control. He has the direction and control of the provincial assemblies, is president of the consistory and medicinal college, is curator of the university, and director of the affairs of the Catholic church in that province. He is also president of the district in which the capital is situated, but not of any others in the province.

Each district has a president at its head. Under its direction are placed the police, the tax commissioners, the magistracy, &c. He makes his report to the president of the province, who makes it to government.

Every circuit has a *Landrath* at its head. If, however, there are large cities or towns within the circuit, they are governed by those magistracy and police. The *Landrath* makes his report to the president of the district.

At the Congress of Vienna, the representatives from each of the German states declared, in the face of heaven and earth, that those

countries which formed the German Confederacy, should possess a Constitution. A few of the monarchs have complied with their promise. Prussia and Austria have not fulfilled it, and probably never will. As a species of substitute, Frederick William has given to his subjects certain privileges, or rights, to which the name of *Landsstände* is given. These are provincial assemblies, consisting of a certain number of members chosen by the cities and villages, and supported, at their expense, during the session. They assemble at the capital of each province, and are ten in number, of which the president of each is chosen by the government. Their deliberations are held in secret, and nothing transpires except what the ministers choose to have published. Stenographers are always present, who write down the debates and the proceedings of the assembly, which are sent to Berlin to be examined by the government. They meet once a year, each session continuing about six weeks. They deliberate concerning the taxes, not whether they shall be imposed or not, but in what manner they shall be collected, on the commerce of the province, and on the minor regulations of police. They have no voice in any thing. All their power consists in recommending certain measures within their limited bounds of discussion. As their debates are held in secret, and as every opinion that is advanced by any one of the members, is immediately communicated to Berlin for the consideration of the government, they take peculiar care to say nothing that will be offensive to the monarch or his ministers. Some of the Prussians think that the king intended the establishment of these assemblies as a fulfilment of his promise; and some of them, who have no definite idea of freedom, declare that the king has complied, on his part, with the declaration of the German powers at the Congress of Vienna. You will perceive, at once, that this bears no more resemblance to a constitution, in our sense of the word, than a fire-fly does to the sun. I cannot believe that he intended it as such, as it would imply a greater want of principle than ever his enemies lay to his charge, and I have too much respect for his understanding to suppose him capable of believing that a people, so enlightened as the Prussians, would ever view it as a fulfilment of his promise. I have never met with a Prussian, of any intelligence, who regarded it as such, unless he held an office under government; and not

even then, unless he was an aristocrat. The Prussians almost universally say, when they are sufficiently acquainted with you to dismiss their fears: "he promised us freedom, but we have not received it; we restored him to his throne, and he has renewed our slavery." Even most of those who hold offices under the monarch, feel that it is their duty or interest to praise him, and to justify him for not keeping his word, on the political grounds referred to in a former letter.

LETTER XIII.

BERLIN, MAY, 1826.

THE climate of Berlin is milder than that of New-York, although Berlin is between 52° and 53°, and the former city but 41°, north latitude. We have had snow but once this winter, from which we had only a few days of sleighing. From the middle of October until the first of January, it rained almost every day. For a fortnight afterwards the weather was so severe, that I found it very difficult to warm my rooms, even with two Russian stoves. The windows for a week were covered with so thick a frost, as to render them almost impervious to vision. Since that time it has been growing continually milder, and for the last three weeks, my windows have been open several hours each day. The sun, however, was shining upon us, and a stove at the same time was emitting its caloric. This month is not as blustering as it is with us, and thus far it has been as agreeable as April is in New York. Some of the trees are now budding, but as April is usually as cold, and often colder than March, they will probably not put forth their foliage until May.

The difference between the climate of Europe and our own country is so great, as to excite the astonishment of every American who visits this continent. At Paris, the latitude of which is almost 49°, there has not snow enough fallen since the commencement of the Revolution, to enable the inhabitants to make use of their sleighs for two days in succession. This is not owing to a cloudless sky, for during the winter the heavens are usually obscured, and much of the time the clouds are discharging their showers on the French metropolis. In the south of France, between 44° and 45°, the olive makes its appearance, and at Marseilles, in latitude 43° 20 minutes, the gardens are adorned with flowers during the winter months, while at Portland, the capital

of Maine, which is in the same latitude, the thermometer of Farenheit often sinks from ten to twenty degrees below cypher. At Messina, in Sicily, latitude 38°, frost is never known, and the almond and other trees, are in blossom in January, while in New-Orleans, latitude 30°, snow falls almost every winter, and sometimes to the depth of three or four inches.

As you proceed east into the interior of Europe, the cold increases, and on reaching the heart of Germany, you find a greater severity than in France, though inferior to that of the United States. Continuing your course into Russia, you find the cold as intense as in the same latitude in our country. Whence comes this great difference between eastern Europe, and own country, and western Europe? It is owing to a number of causes which are principally confined to the European countries which border the Atlantic. The first of these, and probably the most influential of all, is the Sirocco wind. This wind, which comes from the mountains of Kong, and the mountains of the Moon, sweeps over the great Sahara in its passage towards the north, passing over a tract of burning sand of three thousand miles in length, by fifteen hundred in breadth. The reflections from this mass of sand, which is exposed so much of the year to a vertical sun, gives a heat to the wind which passes over it, that is felt in no other part of the world. As it sweeps over the desert, the heat continually accumulates, until it reaches the Atlas chain of mountains, by which it is somewhat cooled, but still it retains a large portion of its caloric after it descends on the Barbary States and the Mediterranean. Even on its arrival in France, it is very warm, and as it sweeps up the valley of the Rhone, it continually gives out its heat, and as there is no chain of mountains to stop its progress, its influence is felt even to the Channel.

The power of this wind is so great as to produce lassitude even as far north as Florence, and at Palermo its effects are very striking. In the latter city, in the month of February, I found it sufficiently severe to produce a violent headache and debility. During the summer it blows with such power, that the streets are almost entirely deserted during the two or three days of its continuance, and no person is visible except the miserable lazzaroni, who have no home but the streets, and those whose occupations compel

them to leave their houses. To guard against its effects, the inhabitants shut themselves in their houses, and spreading blankets before the windows, continually wet them and the pavement of their rooms, to counteract the parching qualities of this wind.*

The Sirocco sweeps along the Italian coast, and passing through the openings and over the lower summits of the Appenines, diffuses itself over Italy, and reaches even the Alps. The great altitude of that chain of mountains, presents an almost impassible barrier to its progress northward, and when it climbs over the Alpine summits of the Tyrol and Switzerland, it has become so cooled by the immense masses of snow with which it comes in contact, and by the cold air of the elevated region through which it passes before it can descend upon Germany, that it loses every particle of the caloric that it brought from Africa. It is owing to this cause, as well as to the southern exposure, that Lombardy has a mild climate, while that of the plain of Switzerland, Würtemberg, and Bavaria, only two and three degrees north, is very severe.

As you proceed farther east, the climate is very sensibly affected by this wind. The Ionian islands, and the southern part of Turkey, which are exposed to its influence, enjoy a delightful climate. The Balkan chain of mountains presents a boundary to the Sirocco, and as soon as you pass over them into Bulgaria, you find a climate comparatively severe. To this cause, as well as to the northern exposure of that province is it owing, that the Danube, in latitude 44°, (where it is from one to two miles in breath,) is frozen over sometimes as early as November, while the coast of Sardinia, in the same latitude, is adorned with olive and orange groves. The Taurus chain, which presents a barrier to this wind in Asia Minor, will explain the great difference between the temperature of the coasts of Itchill and Adana, and that which is washed by the Black Sea. You will thus perceive, that Europe has on the south a mighty furnace, which is continually giving out its heat to every part of that continent which is exposed to the southerly winds.

* This wind is so destitute of moisture, that English furniture which is held together by glue, usually falls to pieces in three years. American furniture, I was informed in Palermo, will resist the shrinking power of this wind.

Another cause of the mild temperature of France, when compared with eastern Europe, is the wind which blows from the Atlantic. The west wind of the European coast, *cæteris paribus*, would be of the same temperature as the easterly wind on our coast. The temperature of the east wind is rendered milder by the warmth of the Gulf stream, over which it passes. Though that stream is not more than sixty miles in breadth, in the latitude of New-York and Philadelphia, still it is so much warmer than the surrounding water, that it must, from its proximity to our coast, exert some influence in diminishing the severity of our easterly winds. Europe, however, in this respect, as well as in her south wind, enjoys a great advantage over us. The African desert extends from five to six degrees farther west than Cape St. Vincent, and the Sirocco meets with nothing in that extent of longitude to interrupt it in its progress. The effect of this wind, in moderating the temperature of the ocean, is very great, as every one must perceive who compares the ocean winds of France and Spain with those of our country. This, however, is not the only cause; there is another, which is, perhaps, more powerful. The wind which blows from the ocean, and sweeps over a part of the United States, is not during winter an easterly wind, but is usually north-east, bringing with it the cold of the north, and the moisture of the east wind. The wind, however, which usually blows from the ocean on the coast of Europe, is not from the west, but a south-west wind, the chilly moisture of the west wind being very much softened by its union with the south wind. It is owing to the comparative mildness of this wind in France and Spain, that cases of the consumption are so very rare, when compared with the Atlantic coast of the United States. It is true that a north-west wind, during winter, sometimes blows from the Atlantic over the coast of France and the Peninsula, but the south-west is much more prevalent, if I mistake not in the ratio, of two or three to one, while the reverse is true in reference to our country.

There is another cause of the comparative mildness of Europe, which though less visible, is probably no less influential, than those already specified. I refer to the changes produced in a climate by the efforts of man. The climate of Italy, in the time of the emperors, was more severe than at the present time, and during the first

and second centuries, the Tiber, which is now always open, was at least sometimes frozen over. Soracte is not now white with snow oftener than once in ten years, while the inference we should draw from the ode of Horace is, that this was of a frequent occurrence. Germany, when invaded by the Romans, was intensely cold, probably little less so than the climate of America. The transformation of the north of Europe into a garden, has probably effected this change, and we may rationally conclude that the same causes will produce the same effects upon our own climate. When our population shall have spread to the Pacific, and to the mouth of M'Kenzie's river, and the immense forests, which now shelter the earth from the influence of the sun, shall be levelled, as evaporation will proceed with much greater rapidity, our winters will be much less severe, and much shorter than at the present time. The westerly wind and the north-west, during much of the winter, produce the intense cold we now experience. Passing over our western forests, they bring with them the cold air that rises from the slowly dissolving snows which they shelter, and thus prolong our winter. Our climate is even now milder than it was when our ancestors arrived at Plymouth, and the succeeding century will probably produce a much greater change in its favour than the last. It would not, perhaps, be surprising, if it should bring with it somewhat of that want of energy, which you find in most southern climates, though a Protestant republic can never be metamorphosed into Catholic Italy and Spain.

The influence of these forests is very visible in travelling in Europe. As you proceed from Germany east, the cold continually increases, and the isothermal line descends towards the south. Russia is as much forested as many parts of our country, and the cold is nearly as severe, and when you proceed to Asia, you find in the forests of that country a severity of cold equal to that of the United States.

There is a much greater difference in the temperature of places in the same latitude in Europe, than in our own country. This is often very visible in cities not remote from each other, even in those which are less than a hundred miles distant. At Florence, snow falls annually, and often to the depth of several inches, while at Pisa it does not fall oftener than once in eight or ten years.

The difference in this case, and in every other which I have observed, is owing to local causes, which are more or less powerful.

Of these causes, mountains are the most influential on the temperature of cities and provinces, and sometimes even of countries. This is strikingly apparent at Pisa, which in latitude almost 44°, has a climate usually preferred to that of Naples three degrees farther south. At Nice, which is in the latitude of Pisa, and along the coast of Sardinia almost to Genoa, the orange, lemon, and citron, grow with great luxuriance; but after leaving Genoa and travelling south, the orange does not appear, except in a few of the gardens of Pisa, until you reach Terracina, the last town in the Roman states. Along this coast the palm tree grows spontaneously, and arrives to nearly the same height as the palm of Sicily. This is the only spot in Italy where the palm grows wild, and from thence all the palm leaves are taken for the ceremonies of Palm Sunday at Rome. The maritime Alps, which run nearly parallel with the coast, completely shelter it from the north winds; and as the mountains are very near the coast, the winds pass over it and descend upon the Mediterranean.

The influence of mountains on temperature, is more apparent in Spain than in any other country in Europe. The northern winds of France and the Bay of Biscay, strike the Pyrenees and the Santillanos chains. The former chain is so elevated as to prove a barrier to the wind, which, following that chain, sweeps in an almost easterly direction into the Mediterranean. The altitude and direction of this chain, is the prominent cause of the violence of the wind in the gulf of Lyons, and on the eastern coast of Corsica. The wind which comes from the Bay of Biscay, soon meets with the Santillanos chain, which though not very elevated, diminishes its force. As it climbs these mountains and passes over Leon and old Castile, it meets the Castillian chain; and if not stopped by this, it soon meets with the Sierra of Toledo. The force of most of the northern winds is destroyed by these successive chains, or else they receive a new direction. If, however, they are powerful enough to surmount the last mentioned obstacle, they then meet with the Sierra Morena; and before they reach the coast of Granada, they must ascend the Sierra Nevada. The north wind which blows at Malaga and Almeira, is consequently almost

deprived of its cold and of its force, and even in winter is like the breeze of spring. Hence the climate of Granada in the winter, is superior to any of Europe, and much more efficacious in diseases of the chest than that of Italy. The climate of Italy would equal it, did the Appenines run east and west; but running nearly south-east, and often being of moderate altitude, they do not prove a barrier to the northern winds which sweep over most of Italy.

The violent changes which take place in the temperature of our country, are owing to our mountains running in a northern and southern direction. There is consequently free passage for the winds from Hudson's Bay, and perhaps from the North Pole. These sweep as far south as Cuba, with nothing to stop them, until they reach the Cuba chain of mountains, which running almost east and west, proves a barrier to their progress. As there is no effectual check to these winds until they reach Cuba, the frosts which every few years do so much injury to the coffee trees on the northern side of that island, as low as latitude 23°, can easily be accounted for; while at Messina, in latitude 38°, frost is unknown. The Alleghany mountains are not sufficiently lofty to stop all the winds from the north; but only those which are powerful climb their summits; while most of them follow the course of that chain, and descend the valley of the Mississippi. As there is here an uninterrupted passage, they descend to New-Orleans, bearing with them the cold of the northern parts of the United States. From this cause snow falls occasionally at New-Orleans; and very rarely, if ever, at St. Mary's, which is one degree north of the former city.

The German houses are the most comfortable I have seen in Europe. Although in travelling, you find as few, and perhaps fewer carpets, than in the north of France, still their wooden floors, cold and dreary as they would be in America, have here very much the appearance of comfort, when the stove is sending out its heat. The French, however, can boast of having the best beds in the world, the *ne plus ultra* of reclining luxury. The beds of Germany are absolutely detestable. The Germans all sleep alone, and the beds are accordingly very narrow. Although more than eight months have elapsed since my arrival in the country, I have never seen a single bed large enough for two persons, and

nine out of ten are adapted to the reception of a traveller of moderate dimensions. They sleep either on a bed or mattress, over which a sheet is spread. The next sheet is a bag, formed like a pillow case, within which a thick blanket is placed; and being spread out so as to fill it up, it is sewed to it to keep it in trim. It is usually not more than five feet long, and two and a half or three feet in breadth, corresponding exactly with the bed or mattress. It is so narrow, that it is absolutely impossible to tuck it up. As I am unfortunately a foot longer than any of these coverings, it is necessary for me always to splice it with blankets. Such a covering answers very well for autumn, but is a poor defence against even a German winter. As soon as the frost makes its appearance, your landlady surprises you with another bed which she carries into your room, and throws it upon the top of yours, as a substitute for blankets. As this is never more than five feet long, all the sons of Anak, of the present generation, must splice this also, or have a part of the body in the tropics and the rest in a polar atmosphere. As it is impossible to move in your sleep without the bed or the blankets rolling off, it is necessary to fasten them down with an additional covering large enough to embrace them all. Completely to arrange your bed for repose at night, (for the danger of every thing above you being thrown off by the first motion is so great, that you are unwilling to trust your servant, without ocular examination,) requires as much time as was necessary some thirty months since, to tack about our good ship, the Lewis, when beating against a head wind. In fact, there is so little comfort here at night, that as midnight approaches, you wish yourself in Paris, in Italy, or in the moon; while, as soon as you arise, the genial temperature of your room enables you to forget all these evils. They tell a story of an Irishman travelling some winters since in Germany, who seeing another bed placed above his own, concluded that it must be the custom here to sleep in layers, one above another. As no one came, he rung the bell, and directed the servant to tell the gentleman who was to lie on top, that being very sleepy, he would thank him to come soon to bed, as he did not like to be disturbed after he had fallen asleep.

In the bill of mortality for the past year, the number of deaths is stated at 6426, or somewhat over 123 weekly. If this is compared with the mortality of our cities, it will be found, if I mistake not, much in our favour. Berlin now contains about 200,000 inhabitants, not varying one or two thousand more or less. As our seaports are the constant resort of strangers, the number of deaths is probably increased some hundreds, which ought to be deducted to put them on a just scale of measurement. Of the 6426 who have died, 3222, or more than half, were under ten years of age. Here we have greatly the advantage, as one half of the population in the United States arrives to the age of twenty, and in our cities to at least the age of fifteen. I cannot account for this mortality among children. The climate is much less variable than with us, and our extremes of temperature though sometimes almost equalled here, are never surpassed. It may be partially owing to the moisture of their winter and spring, and possibly to the fact that houses are not so impervious to the air as those of our northern cities. This last circumstance, judging at least by one's comfort, seems to be more than counterbalanced by their stoves, which diffuse an equal temperature throughout the room. We have almost universally carpets; here they exist only in the houses of the rich. Even with this comfort, and with the superiority of our houses, the temperature of our rooms is not equally agreeable. The cause of our less frequent mortality is probably found in our manner of living. The poorer class of the inhabitants of our cities are better clad than those of this town, and almost without exception have sufficient food. Here the indigent are unable to procure meat oftener than once or twice a week, and sometimes not once a month. Though the expense of living here is less than at Paris, in proportion to the price of labour it is twice as great as in our own cities.

The diseases prevailing here generally correspond with those found in the United States; but they prevail in different proportions. In Boston, one-fourth, and in some years almost one-third; in New-York, one-fifth; and in Philadelphia, one-sixth, of the deaths are of consumption. In this city there were but 416, or one in fifteen and a half who died of that disease. This may be accounted

for from the greater variableness of our climate, and the comparatively small number of sudden and violent changes of the weather in Prussia; and probably still more from the fact that the Prussian girls have more common sense in their toilette than those of our cities, and rarely wear the dress of summer when the thermometer is below the point of congelation.

Of cramp or spasms, (*krampfen*) 1091, or more than one-sixth died. Of these 837 were under one, and only 68 over ten years of age. This is a much greater proportion than with us.

Of dropsy, the deaths were 435; of whom 77 were of dropsy in the head, and 101 of dropsy in the breast. This number, if I mistake not, is several times as great as in our cities. There is nothing in the German mode of living to produce this effect, except the prodigious quantity of beer which they drink. This I have no doubt has not a little influence.

Of *schlagfluss*, apoplexy, and *stickfluss*, or croup, there were 558 deaths. There were 512 who died of debility and old age; 157 of feebleness soon after birth; 75 by accident, of whom 27 were drowned in the Spree; and 252 of teething.

Of wasting or consuming fevers, *abzehrenden Fiebern*, 1076 died; of nervous fevers, 164; of scarlet fever, 108; and of inflammatory fevers, 473, of which 162 were on the lungs. Of childbed and the fevers which succeeded, 47 died.

The remaining deaths were, of hooping cough 52; small pox 7 measles 60; quinsy 81; *blustürz*, or hemorrhage 34; cancers 57; of which forty-eight were women; and suicide 47, ten women and thirty-seven men, &c. &c. The deaths by suicide in 1824, were 57, or ten more than during the present year. Notwithstanding the *Schwärmerey* of the Germans, this is not so great a proportion as in Paris, and I believe a much smaller than in London. It is a singular fact that the greatest number of suicides occurred during the brilliant month of May. Nine terminated their existence during this month, only one in February, and one in the gloomy month of November. The Germans in this respect are the reverse of the English; for whom November is proverbially the month to hang, shoot, and drown themselves.

The following is a list of the deaths and births of Prussia during eight years, from 1817 to 1824 inclusive.

	Births.	*Deaths.*
1817,	454,600	307,000
1818,	463,554	313,755
1819,	492,799	334,438
1820,	484,936	297,284
1821,	504,160	287,573
1822,	502,925	314,513
1823,	498,643	318,878
1824,	505,238	318,457
	3,906,855	2,491,898

The number of births and deaths in France between 1817 and 1824 inclusive, was as follows.

	Births.	*Deaths.*
1817,	944,125	748,223
1818,	913,855	751,907
1819,	987,918	788,055
1820,	958,933	770,706
1821,	963,358	751,214
1822,	972,796	774,162
1823,	964,021	742,735
1824,	984.152	763,606
Total,	7,689,158	6,090,608

From this statement, you will perceive that the number of births in France in 8 years amounted to 7,689,158. During the same time they amounted in Prussia to 3,906,858. France has a population of nearly thirty-two millions, while that of Prussia in 1825 amounted to 12,003,810. Prussia, with rather more than a third of the population of France, had, during these eight years, more than half as many births as the latter country. This great difference is a striking exhibition of the comparative elevation of the lower classes in this country.

From this statement it will appear, that during these eight years, the number of births exceeded that of deaths 1,414,880, or they were almost in the ratio of five to three. This, for a European country, is a great excess, and for one labouring under such heavy

taxes as Prussia, is a favourable exhibition of the industry of the nation.

Of the 2,491,978 deaths in this country during these eight years, there were 7155 of suicide, almost 900 yearly, or about 29 in 10,000 deaths. Of the suicides in France during this period, I am ignorant. There were, however, in the city of Paris, during these eight years, from 1817 to 1824 inclusive, 2808, (vid. *Berlinische Nachrichten.*) From this statement, however, it is impossible to form a comparison, as Paris being the metropolis of misery, as well as of splendour, the proportional number of suicides is much greater there than in the provinces.*

During these eight years, 37,633 died in Prussia of accidental death, or 4704 annually. In every 10,000 deaths, those caused by accident were 151. During this period, 18,051 died of the small pox, principally in the provinces of Silesia and Posen. In every 10,000 deaths, 72 were of this disease. There were during these years 123,958 born dead, or more than 15,000 yearly; that is, in every 10,000 deaths, 497. 35,608 were born where the mother died; or 4451 yearly, or 143 in 10,000 deaths. All unlucky deaths, viz. those by accident, misfortune, violence, &c. amounted to 222,440, or 22,805 yearly, or in 10,000—892.

The number of births in Berlin during the year 1825, was 8033, of which there were twins in 95 instances. The births exceeded the deaths by 1607. The average number of daily births was 22; of deaths 18. There were 502 births and 40 deaths more than in the previous year. In 1825, there were 2126 couples married. In 1824, there were 1801 marriages, giving an excess of 325 in favour of the last year. Of the 6426 deaths, 599, or about one-eleventh were over seventy years. During this year, 331 were born dead, that is one twenty-fourth of the births, and one-nineteenth of the deaths were of this class. Among the legitimate births, one-twenty-sixth part were thus born, and among the illegitimate, one in ten.

The Sabbath is but little if any more observed here than in the Catholic capitals of Europe. It is true, that the churches are tolerably well filled in the morning, but the rest of the day is usually de-

* I have no account of the illegitimate births of Prussia during this period. There were, however, born in France during the eight years, from 1817 to 1824, 272,040 boys, and 259,144 girls, or a total of 531,184 illegitimate births, or one in every fourteen and one half births in all France was illegitimate.

voted to visiting, exercise and amusement. Though these edifices are rather larger, the assemblies are smaller than in our own cities, and as there are less than forty of them with a population of two hundred thousand, the public observation of this day in Berlin is strongly contrasted with the same in American towns. In New-York and Philadelphia, there is one church to fifteen hundred inhabitants; here there is one to between five and six thousand. In every part of Germany that I have seen, the Sabbath is not regarded as holy in our acceptation of the term. Even the Orthodox party do not view it as such, any longer than while they are in church. All who have conversed with me, esteem it a Mosaic institution, which ceased to be obligatory after the introduction of the Christian dispensation. The only difference between the Sabbath and other days is, that no newspapers appear on that day, and that the shops are shut. The latter, however, is not generally necessary; it results from the custom of devoting the day to recreation, rather than from a belief in its sanctity. The laws, however, of many of the cities, require that the shops should be closed during divine service. For five-sixths of the population of northern Germany, it is a mere day of amusement; particularly for hunting the hare and for shooting, among the higher classes; for duelling with the students; and for dancing and walking, in the summer, among the lower class of citizens.

The morality of Berlin is far less pure than that of our own cities. Infidelity, on the part of the husband or wife, is not a very rare occurrence, either in the higher or lower classes. Although it diminishes the reputation of the individual in the eyes of many, it is not thought such an offence against public morals as to exclude the party from society. In this respect Berlin is decidedly less immoral than Paris, or the cities of the south of Europe. Vice is much less visible here than in most Catholic cities; and although it exists to a considerable extent, it is more necessary to draw a veil over it. The villages, so far as I can learn, are much more moral than the towns, and Berlin is less so than the smaller cities.

All large towns are corrupt, whenever they become so populous that the conduct of each individual is necessarily unobserved, from his being lost in the crowd. This is especially true of European

capitals, where the influence of the court is perhaps without a single exception deleterious to virtue. So accustomed are most Europeans to look at the monarch as the centre of the system, that whatever he does is not only considered right by the great majority of his courtiers, but by not a small number of them it is imitated. If he is a libertine, most of them will be immoral; if he is moral in his life, they are less immoral.

The capital exerts on the surrounding country the same influence, as the monarch and his court on the metropolis. It is the heart of the country, from which the extremities receive their laws of opinion, and of fashion. In one word, it stamps its character on every town whose citizens visit it, more or less distinctly, in reference to the distance, and to the causes which increase or counteract its influence. When the heart of a nation is corrupt, the whole body is diseased: when it is pure, health will pervade every member. A monarch, who sees that his example is the rule of right in the eyes of most of his subjects, almost always finds that the descent is easy, and the upward course intensely rugged. He is usually under no restraint but that of conscience; and this is almost destroyed before he has reached his manhood, by the influence of the examples of those around him. He is exposed to temptations to which his subjects are strangers, and which he finds it exceedingly difficult to resist. He gives law to every one, but receives it from no one but God; and this divine law, when it is opposed by the almost universal scepticism of his courtiers, he disbelieves, or at least disregards. The immoral influence of monarchies, is in my opinion the most powerful argument against this form of government. Of its extent, no inhabitant of our country, who has not resided a long time in a large European metropolis, can form any idea.

The king of Prussia, who is a very moral man, has by his influence very much improved the morality of his capital since he ascended the throne; and although his courtiers do not all show a similar example, it may be said without hesitation, that his is the least immoral among the great courts of Europe. The poorer class of *bourgeoises* do not maintain a high reputation for virtue. That class in every European city is the most corrupt; as they find without a sacrifice of their charms, that it is exceedingly dif-

ficult to procure a subsistence, in towns where every article of consumption pays an extravagant tax at the gates; thus increasing from one-third to one-half the sum necessary for their support. With all the immorality of this class, I believe that Berlin is as moral as any large metropolis of Europe, although it is in this respect greatly inferior to the cities of the United States.

Although there is much vice in this city, there is also decidedly more real religion, than in any other of the cities of the continent which I have visited. The friends of the king endeavour to persuade the public, that he as well as the crown prince are men of piety. Were this the case, I think that Frederick William would at least fulfil his promise of a constitution, made years since, to the most faithful subjects, which any king ever had the happiness to govern.

Among the laity, the proportion of religious men is decidedly greater than among the clergy. This is peculiarly true of the royal guard which is quartered here, many of the officers of which body are said to not only lead exemplary lives, but to exhibit that ardent love to Christ, and to mankind, which he has informed us is the test of discipleship. I know of no army, where there are so many religious men among its officers as in that of Frederick William, and probably few have ever existed where the proportion was equally great.

LETTER XIV.

BERLIN, 1826.

IT is the ardent wish of very many of the Germans, to see this country united into one great empire, as its local situation has made it for centuries the great battle ground of Europe. Its inhabitants have been so frequently compelled to support foreign armies, have so often seen their villages and cities in flames and their soil covered with the dead and the dying, that they have become fully satisfied with the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war." With the exception of Austria and Prussia, every contest which takes place is dreaded by the small states of Germany. They are so feeble as to have no voice in the question; their only course is submission or destruction. Like the dwarf in the fable, they receive all the blows, and when victory crowns their efforts, the giants divide all the profits between themselves; leaving these little states the satisfaction of having fought like heroes, and the pleasure of realizing that suffering is often the only attendant upon true valour. Every such war, by increasing the power of Austria and Prussia, makes those countries so much the more to be dreaded by the small states which lie near them; and strange as it may seem, victory to the latter is almost always a preparation for slavery, or an augmentation of it if already existing.

Were the thirty-two millions of Germans who now inhabit this country, to become one people, they would present such a barrier to the ambition of France on the one side, and to that of Russia on the other, that neither power would be willing to attack them. Were they thus united, they could prevent these great powers from approaching each other, except on the ocean, where it would be almost impossible for them to carry on a war that would ultimately become general in Europe. They could not meet in Lombardy, as such a union would prevent the Czar from approach-

ing within many hundred miles of Venice, however disposed the Hungarians might be in his favour. Most of the subsequent combats could then be fought in Flanders, in Italy, and in Spain.

If we look at the history of Europe, during the three last centuries, how large a portion of all the battles has taken place in this unhappy country! How extensively have they grown out of its unfortunate division into a great number of small dukedoms and kingdoms, most of them insignificant in themselves, but if united, possessing a force and resources equal to those of any country on earth.

The reasons why many of the Germans are so desirous of this union, are the wish to see Germany take that rank among the nations of the earth which it merits, and for which nature has designed it, as well as the powerful excitement which such a union would give to the nations at large. From the Baltic to the Adriatic, from the Rhine almost to the Vistula,* this country forms but one compact kingdom, through which the German language is universally spoken, except in some of the villages of Bohemia.† It has the Northern Ocean and the Baltic on the north, and the Adriatic washing a part of its southern boundary, forming an extent of sea coast of nearly one thousand miles. If united into one country, it would soon become a formidable maritime power, as the enthusiasm thus awakened would transform even the Germans into seamen, and if not equal, they would probably be little inferior to the Swedes. With these two great seas bounding it, its commerce would be greatly extended, and, in time, surpass that of any other country on the continent. The Weser, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, on the north; the Rhine, on the west; and the Danube and its branches, on the south, would become the great avenues of transportation. The country would soon be intersected by canals, and the busy hum of commerce be heard in many a city which is now almost lifeless. The Germans would, in a short time, assume a unity of character, and make themselves respected and feared throughout Europe.

* Prussia on the Baltic extends far beyond the Vistula, but it is only a very small tract, the loss of which would not be felt by such a nation.

† In all the cities, and in some of the small towns of Bohemia, German is spoken. In the villages the Bohemian language, a dialect of the Sclavonic, is the only one known.

The union of this country into one nation is, however, an almost hopeless event. It has so long been divided into a great number of petty duchies, electorates, and kingdoms, that every thing like nationality of feeling has ceased to exist. It seems to be the object of the governments that direct the concerns of these states, to destroy every thing like unity of character, since, were such a character to become general, the bases on which they rest would be undermined. To accomplish this, they very extensively impose such heavy duties on the articles manufactured in the neighbouring states, as almost to destroy commerce with each other. The manufactures of every duchy or electorate are almost entirely confined to its own territory, for the amount sent out of Germany to foreign countries is so small, as hardly to afford an exception to this remark. Even in the larger kingdoms, foreign commerce is pursued with very little ardour, as the government are alarmed lest the balance of trade should be against them, and still more from fears of the political light which their subjects might acquire by a commercial intercourse with countries which are free. They measure their resources by what they are, not by what they might be, were the spirit of the nation roused to exertion. The price of corn here is not a third what it is in England, and still the English fabrics have expelled their manufactures from almost every foreign market; and would even from their own, were they admitted to cross their boundaries. Such a policy produces an almost universal paralysis, and no efforts are made but those which are on so limited a scale as to require this prohibitory system to enable them to succeed. The great rivers which traverse this country, are almost hermetically sealed at the boundaries of each government, to those above and below them, so that they become of very little value to the states through which they run. This policy is pursued partly from retaliation, and partly from the fear that any thing which should excite national enterprise, would undermine the present *statu quo* system; a system which the governments of Germany believe indispensable to the maintenance of public order. In this city, of two hundred thousand inhabitants, you find, accordingly, an infinitude of shopkeepers, but a very limited number of merchants. This will not a little surprise you, as there is a free communication from the Spree to the Elbe, and by means of canals to the Baltic. As

there are so few merchants, in the English sense of the word, the profession is not much respected. To hold the office of lieutenant in the army, or even to be a clerk in one of the police offices, is esteemed a more respectable employment by the majority of the the nation. Although these restrictions furnish a most powerful argument for the union of Germany, you will easily see that the difficulties to be surmounted which these governments occasion, are too great, to lead the most sanguine German to anticipate even a distant accomplishment of his wishes.

There is another obstacle more difficult to be removed than the one just mentioned: it is found in the great number of duchies, electorates, and kingdoms. Of these there are at least thirty which have their courts; and more than twenty that have their departments of war, of finance, of the interior, which are subdivided into numberless ramifications of secretaries, clerks, &c. Many of the monarchs have not as much territory as several of our large counties, and some of them less than half a dozen of our townships. They are, however, proud in proportion to their poverty, and out of the sweat of their subjects they contrive to procure the means of apeing the sovereigns whose territories surpass their own in extent and resources. To unite Germany into one country, you must destroy the authority of between thirty and forty dukes, electors, &c. to many of whom their subjects are attached, as well as the governments which have so long directed the affairs of those large and small territories. But this is not all. Here are more than thirty capitals, with palaces, public edifices, and national theatres. As most of them have little or no commerce, it is merely from their courts that they derive their importance. These towns must be, in a great measure, annihilated by such a union. Even if this were done, the next question is to select a new capital. It cannot be Berlin, it is too far north, while Vienna is not only too far south, but too near the eastern frontier of Germany. Where shall it be? This question the Germans would find it almost impossible to settle, were it to be seriously agitated. Besides the national debts of the different German states bears no relative proportion to their population. Brunswick, for instance, with two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, has a debt of seven millions of guldens: that of Saxe Gotha, with a population about equal to it, is but three

millions. The Hanse towns, with less than two hundred and seventy-four thousand inhabitants, have a debt of twenty-one million, while six of the smaller states, with twenty-six thousand inhabitants, owe less than one and a half million. Hesse, with a population of six hundred thousand, has a national debt of twelve and a half millions; while Kurhesse, or Hesse Cassel, which is scarcely inferior to it in population, owes less than one-third that sum. To unite these disproportionate sums into one general debt, would be an obstacle very difficult to overcome, without creating very great dissatisfaction.

The difference of creed presents another impediment not easily surmounted. Northern Germany is Protestant, while southern Germany is Catholic. The former in literature is enlightened, the latter is comparatively in the shade. The ignorance and superstition of the Austrians and Bavarians, are despised and ridiculed by the Germans north of the Mayne, while the heresy of the latter is equally odious to their southern brethren. The thirty years' war which was kindled to extend the conquests of Austria, and to annihilate Protestantism, raged so long in the northern part of this country, as to destroy a large proportion of its resources. It was marked with such horrible exhibitions of cruelty and rapine, that they have never forgiven their southern neighbours for this wanton sacrifice of their fairest hopes. Since that period, they have ceased to regard the Austrians as brethren. They now blend with the feeling of hostility that of contempt, and when they speak of the Emperor's subjects, you usually discover a sneer. They laugh at their dulness and easy digestion, as much as the Athenians did at their equally physical neighbours, the Bocotians. They speak of them as slaves, and as being unworthy of the name of Germans; as slaves both mentally and physically. Though there is very little at the north to remind an American of liberty, the Protestants feel as if they were comparatively free, so long as their minds are not subjected to the priesthood. Even the Prussians speak of *Austrian tyranny*, as if they themselves inhaled the pure breath of freedom. The Germans of the north call them *les autres chiens*, or "the other dogs"; from the resemblance to *les Autrichiens*, the French word for Austrians. The latter content themselves with looking at their fine soil, and eating and drinking its productions, contrasting it with the sandy plains of the north, whose heretical inhabit-

ants they believe will find in the future world, a more painful lot, than even the cultivation of their barren fields.

There are but two points in which the north and south can unite. The first is their language. Even here the union is but partial. The southern Germans are ridiculed by their northern brethren for their barbarous pronunciation, which grates upon their ears with a harsher discord than even that of the Tuscaroras, or those of the neighboring tribes of savages.* An Austrian betrays himself in the first sentence by his harsh utterance, which, when contrasted with that of Hanover or Saxony, is very disagreeable even to a foreigner.

The literature of Germany, however, is common ground, where they all assemble. Every intelligent inhabitant of this country, whether from the Rhine, the Baltic, the Vistula or the Danube, boasts of Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Lessing, &c. as the classic writers of Germany, and feels like the tribe of Judah in relation to David, that they belong peculiarly to him. On this theatre of conversation, sectional feelings vanish, at least to a considerable degree. They pride hemselves also in the number and extent of their universities, and the fertility of their literary press. As most of the works published at the great fair at Leipzig are written, and as most of the distinguished universities and professors are situated north of the Mayne, you soon discover, however, in the northern Germans the consciousness of their relative superiority when speaking of their national literature. These are the only respects in which any thing like national feeling exists; but these are so feeble in their influence, as hardly to keep alive the hope, that this country will ever form but a single nation. Until this takes place, Germany must continue to be in time of war the great battle ground of Europe, and much of her resources will be consumed in supporting foreign armies. Then those states which border on France, must from fear unite with her; while those near Austria or Prussia, will, from necessity, embrace the cause of those countries. During peace, the small states will be ruled by these two great powers, and be compelled to pursue those measures, which may be

* The Indians who lived near that tribe were accustomed to say, that "the Tuscaroras talked like great white man's wagon going down stony hill."

thought most conducive to the prosperity of Austria and Prussia.

The prospects of the smaller states of Germany, at the present time are far from being flattering. Should the present *statu quo* system remain, they will, with the enjoyment of peace, not only be dictated to by the Holy Alliance, but by Austria and Prussia also. If, however, that Alliance should dissolve, so many new interests will arise, that it will be impossible to conjecture what may be the fate of these little states. Prince Metternich, by his wonderful talent in exciting fear, has thus far controlled the cabinets of Europe, and has exerted an influence over the destinies of nations, little if any inferior to that of Napoleon. He persuaded the Emperor Francis and Frederick William, not to fulfil the promise they made to their German subjects of giving them constitutions, and he has prevented Alexander, during the Grecian struggle, from rendering the Greeks that assistance which his army and nation demanded. Through his influence and that of Russia, Louis XVIII, contrary to his wishes, sent the Duke d'Angouleme with an army of 100,000 men into Spain, and crushed liberty in its cradle. When Sicily, Naples and Genoa, in 1820 and 1821 threw off the galling yoke of slavery, Metternich sent his thirty thousand Austrian bayonets into Italy, and re-established despotism.

Greece has had most abundant cause to mourn on account of the wide spread influence of this great enemy of the human race. The expeditions sent from Alexandria to the Morea, were principally composed of Austrian vessels, and although protected by Egyptian and Turkish ships of war, it was the vessels of Trieste which carried not only the soldiers, but most of the *materiel* of war. Since Ibrahim Pacha has been in the Morea, Austrian ships have supplied his army with provisions, and without their assistance, they would long since have been compelled to abandon that peninsula. That afflicted people now heap curses upon the head of Metternich, and wish that "darkness might cover the day of his birth, that it might not be numbered among the days of the year."

Italy has no stronger affection for Austria than Greece. The kingdom of the two Sicilies has had to support thirty thousand Austrian troops, which have been there quartered upon them during the last five years, and its resources are now so exhausted, that it is yielding to its fate without a murmur. The Austrian court is so

intimately allied with that of Naples, for Francis of Naples, and Francis of Austria, are both grandsons of Maria Theresa, that years will perhaps roll away before the two Sicilies will be free from the deadly embrace of Metternich.* The grand duke Leopold of Tuscany, is the nephew of the emperor of Austria, the grand duchess of Parma is his daughter, and the grand duchess of Massa is allied to him by marriage. Sardinia is not so nearly allied, still its queen is a cousin of the Austrian emperor, and the king, dreading the power of France, has garrisoned several of his fortresses with Austrian soldiers. More than four million Lombards, ever since the Congress of Vienna, have been compelled to acknowledge the emperor Francis as their master, and to wither under the iron grasp of Metternich. Nothing of Italy remains but the Papal States, and the "glorious republic of San Marino." The overwhelming power of Austria in Italy, makes the court of Rome yield to Austrian influence; and, although Metternich did not succeed in placing his emissary in the papal chair, in the election in 1823, there is reason to fear that he will succeed in the next struggle, which cannot be far distant, as Leo XII. is not only advanced in years, but is very infirm. The republic of San Marino, with its seven thousand inhabitants, is the only power in Italy which can boast of its independence; but, as she has retained her freedom during more than three centuries, by yielding to every

* Prince Metternich is regarded by the Liberals of Europe, as the greatest enemy of the human race who has lived for ages. You rarely hear his name mentioned, without exciting indignation, not only in the speaker, but in the auditors. Napoleon's ambition covered Europe with desolation; but, as he fought merely for the purpose of extending his territory, his system fell with him. Metternich, on the other hand, has not been attacking men, but principles, and has done so much towards destroying on the continent those great political truths, which nations have acquired through ages of effort and suffering, that there is reason to fear, should his system continue for half a century, that liberty will forsake the continent, to revisit it no more. The Saxons, who are peculiarly exposed to Metternich's embrace, literally abhor the prince. The German word *Mitternacht* means midnight. From the resemblance of the word to Metternich, as well as from his efforts to cover Europe with political darkness, the Saxons, when speaking of him, call him prince *Mitternacht.*

political breeze, she will of course acquiesce in every measure of the court of Vienna.

Though at the German Diet, Austria has a rival in Prussia, she is still much more dreaded than the latter country, not only on account of her power, but also still more on account of her influence, which now covers most of continental Europe with its darkness. Unfortunately for the smaller states, Metternich has had such an influence over the court of Berlin,* that they have long acted in unison, and the little kingdoms, duchies, and electorates of Germany, have enjoyed only the name of independence, and have yielded to every threat. The death of Alexander, in the opinion of many of the Prussians, has dispelled this Austrian charm over Germany. The present empress of Russia is the daughter of Frederick William, and it is believed the courts of Berlin and Petersburg have, since the death of Alexander, not only lost their animosity, but formed an alliance, which promises to endure for some time to come. Should this union continue, Prussia will form a rallying point for all the smaller states north of Bohemia, and of the Mayne, and enable them to recover from the upas influence of Austria.

From the facts stated above, you will see the impossibility of uniting Germany into one country. It may, however, be united into two, and nature seems to have marked out natural boundaries for two great kingdoms. The Mayne, the Erzgebirge, and the Riesengebirge, would present a line of separation, which Prussia and Austria might consider as a fair division. Though in such a division, Austria would receive the largest portion, yet so desirous is Prussia to extend her territory on the west of the Elbe, for the sake of uniting western with eastern Prussia, that she would willingly see Austria take Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, provided she were allowed to add Saxony, Hanover, and the

* Count Bernstorff, the minister for foreign affairs in Prussia, is believed by the inhabitants of the metropolis, to be to such an extent under Austrian influence, that on every question not interfering with the prosperity of Prussia, he coincides with the views of Metternich. That this opinion is well founded, no one will doubt, who reads the history of Prussian politics since the death of count Hardenberg. He is the son of the celebrated Danish minister, count Bernstorff, who died about the end of the last century.

smaller states, north of the Mayne, to her territory. She would thus become a first-rate power, and then she would dread neither the attacks of France nor of Austria. Such a division cannot be made in a time of peace; but should France become impoverished by a long war with Spain or England, and Russia either be placed in a similar situation, or be bribed with a slice of Hungary, or of Austrian Poland, it might be effected as easily as the division of Poland was accomplished. In some points of view, such a division is to be deprecated, especially by the states south of the Mayne, but the happiness of those of the north would certainly be increased by such a change, should Prussia ever acquire the freedom of the press, and a representative government.

LETTER XV.

BERLIN, 1826.

I HAVE made so many remarks respecting the universities of Germany, that you would not excuse me were I to omit giving you a sketch of the means of education provided for the great mass of the people, in the common schools. In this respect, as well as in her universities, Prussia is one of the most enlightened nations in Europe; indeed second only to Saxony, unless the southern part of Scotland is an exception. The Rhine provinces have been united to Prussia for so short a time, that their population has not yet begun to exhibit the same intellectual cultivation as the centre of the kingdom; still so broad is the foundation which has been laid for their improvement, that there is reason to hope, that they will, in the course of a few years, be little, if any inferior to their western brethren.

Prussian Poland, is in education, much inferior to the western part of Prussia. That "ignorance is the mother of devotion," has been as fully believed by her priests, as by those of Italy. With the exception of that part of Poland near the Baltic, little had been done to raise the character of the people, before the first division of that kingdom. Frederick the Great was too much occupied with war and belles-lettres to find time for the mental improvement of the great body of his subjects; while his successor, Frederick William the second, was too intent upon pleasure to do any thing for Prussian Poland. It remained for the present sovereign to provide the means of instruction for his Polish subjects, and to reorganise the schools of that part of his kingdom. Although they are much inferior to those of the old provinces, they are rapidly improving, and there is reason to anticipate a speedy mental renovation among a part at least of that unfortunate people.

The remarks that will now be made respecting the schools of this country, apply peculiarly to central Prussia, or to that part of the kingdom which excludes the provinces on the Rhine, and Prussian Poland. Perhaps Silesia also should be excluded, as when it was conquered by Frederick the Great, it was marked by that ignorance which is so characteristic of most parts of the Austrian dominions ;, and although it has long been united to Prussia, it has made much less progress in education than the rest of the kingdom.

It is an interesting subject to every traveller in Europe, to observe the difference which exists in the respective means of education in Protestant and Catholic countries. This is most clearly visible in Germany. In the Protestant states of the north, most of the peasantry can read and write, while in Austria and Bavaria the proportion is very small. Würtemberg which touches Bavaria, has a comparatively enlightened peasantry. When you travel through Switzerland, you can easily discover by the relative neatness of the villages and the prosperity of the people, as well as by their intelligence, whether you are in a Catholic or Protestant canton. Travel through Saxony, and you will not discover a child of ten years old, who has not acquired the rudiments of education; but cross the Bohemian boundary, and you will soon perceive that the peasantry are comparatively ignorant. In France after minute inquiries in every part of the kingdom which I visited, I learned that of the adults among the Catholic peasantry, a large proportion of them could neither read nor write; while among the Protestants, almost every child was instructed.

Far be it from me to imply that Catholic countries have not done much, very much, to promote the cause of literature. The efforts of Leo X. to revive the spirit of learning in Italy, exalt him, notwithstanding his anathemas against the Protestants, above the great mass of monarchs, who have embraced the religion of the Reformers. The patronage afforded by his father, Lorenzo de Medici, to letters and the fine arts, will be remembered with gratitude by students, when Florence shall be no more.

The great difference, however, between Protestant and Catholic countries, consists not in the number of scholars and artists who have been patronised, but in the foundation which has been laid

for instructing the great mass of the people. Compare the Protestant countries of Europe, England, Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, and Prussia, for example, with Italy, Spain, and Portugal, or even with France. Look at Holland, and then at the Netherlands; at Protestant and Catholic Ireland. Look above all at the United States of America, and contrast it with Mexico and the republics of the South. Whence comes this mighty difference in European nations, which a few centuries since were all equally superstitious, and equally degraded? Why has Italy, for a long period the lamp of Europe, always had a peasantry but little superior in knowledge to the animals of her soil? Why are the common people of the Roman states, at this day, among the most ignorant and degraded of Europe? There the wealth and power of the Catholic Church has centered; nations for ages have brought thither their tribute; and still her peasantry have always been ignorant and debased. It does not result from the want of means on the part of the government. The money expended in the festivals of Rome for several centuries, would have provided all the people during that period with adequate means of instruction. The difference is found in the principles of Catholics and Protestants. The Reformers saw that an ignorant people were easily reduced to mere machines; that the only mode of securing to them their proper character, was by providing adequate means of instruction; and that without this instruction, the victory which they had gained would soon be lost. In every Protestant country, these means were accordingly provided by them, or by their successors, and the inhabitants of these countries have been the only nations, the great mass of which have been taught to read and write. It is on this elevated ground that the Protestant takes his stand; it is here that he feels an emotion of triumph swell his bosom, when he looks to what the Reformation has done to benefit the human race. He here beholds in a most striking manner, the difference between nations who receive their creed from compulsion or from conviction. It is after such a comparison, or rather contrast, that he places the Reformers among the illustrious benefactors of mankind.

The elementary schools of Prussia are entirely under the direction of the government. No one is allowed to act as an instructer

in them, without a previous examination, and a written permission from the committee of examination. At the present time there are more than twenty thousand of these schools in the kingdom, of which seventeen thousand are in the villages, and the remainder in the towns. For the preparatory education of these instructers, one or more seminaries are established in every province, and are supported by the government. The object in forming these institutions, was to introduce a uniform system of instruction throughout the kingdom, as well as to prevent any person who was not qualified, from attempting to teach the peasantry. To these seminaries all those who wish to become instructers in the elementary schools are required to repair, where they are taught every thing necessary for their future station. Here they remain from two to three years, the time being regulated by their capacity, and their qualifications at the period when they commenced their course. They study, at these seminaries, geography, arithmetic, the German language, and the Bible. Here also they are taught the best modes of educating, and of governing children, as well as the subjects they are to teach. After they have finished their course at the seminaries, they are examined, and if found qualified, they receive a certificate to this effect. This paper, with a certificate of their baptism and moral character, which is signed by the pastor of the church they formerly attended, is presented to the government, or to its agents, who immediately enter their names on the list of instructers. By the establishment of these institutions, a uniform mode of instruction, has been introduced throughout Prussia.

The population of the United States is generally so intelligent, that many of the instructers of our elementary schools, are sufficiently well informed to teach the rudiments of education. There is, however, with us no systematic mode of instruction; and, in many instances, there is a great ignorance of the best mode of communicating knowledge to the minds of children. To understand a subject, will not of itself enable one to impart a clear view of it to others. This capacity can only be acquired by previous preparation, or by long experience. Few even of those who have been in the habit of instructing children for years, have that intimate and extensive knowledge of the subjects they teach, which is

necessary for an instructer, whose object is to expand the mind of the child, and to excite his enthusiasm. Emulation doubtless exists to some extent in our schools, but it results principally from the desire of receiving marks of approbation, and from the little presents which are distributed to the youth. This, unquestionably, exerts somewhat of an auspicious influence, but it ceases as soon as the child leaves his school.

The great object of all instruction is *to excite a thirst for knowledge*, one which neither time nor distance can extinguish. It is not enough to impress certain facts on his mind, such, for instance, as are found in all our geographies, relative to the form, population, extent, &c. of the different countries of the world: there should be a constant endeavour to excite that curiosity which will prompt him to make subsequent inquiries for himself, to procure an amount of knowledge concerning the commerce, statistics, power, and comparative resources of nations, from which he will be always able to derive a fund of thoughts and arguments. He should be made a thinking, reflecting being; one who can discern the shadow, and not mistake it for the reality; one who can judge correctly on the great concerns of life, and who is not governed by others. The great difference between the southern peasantry of Europe and our farmers, is this, the one class are a mere machine, the other are a reflecting people. But, although the latter class are intelligent, they are below that point to which they might easily be elevated, were our common schools to assume the high character they would soon exhibit, if they were intrusted only to men of superior intelligence.

It is as necessary to educate an individual who designs to instruct others, as to educate a professor for his chair, or a general or commodore for military or naval command. Without such preparation, the instructer will be almost as unqualified to communicate knowledge, as a corporal would be to lead a division into action. In many of our states, we have large funds, the interest of which is appropriated to the maintenance of elementary schools. In Connecticut, this fund will soon be more than sufficient to provide the necessary means of instruction for all the youth of the state. Were the surplus to be applied to the support of a Seminary for the education of schoolmasters, the happiest results would soon

be perceived. In such an institution, the young men would not only learn every thing connected with the usual subjects taught in our elementary schools, but might easily acquire that knowledge of theoretical agriculture, mineralogy, botany, statistics, and political economy, which would enable them greatly to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge in the villages where they reside. Persons thus instructed would easily become the prominent men of the villages where they resided. They would be enabled to direct the minds of not a small number of the villagers, as well as of their pupils, to subjects which would otherwise never have arrested their attention.

Were such schoolmasters provided for the education of the youth of Connecticut, the intellectual character of the mass of the inhabitants would, in one generation, not only become superior to that of every other people, but it would become the wonder and admiration of our country. To support such a Seminary,* and to provide it with the necessary *materiel* of literature, would not cost more than ten thousand dollars annually. Is it not desirable, at least, to try the experiment? How can we, for so limited a sum, accomplish an equal amount of good? Are not the minds and character of the rising generation, worth this trifling expenditure? Shall we always walk in the beaten track of our fathers, when prospects so bright and so glorious are opening to our view?

By the improvement of our common schools, those of a higher character would soon improve, and resemble at least, in some degree, the classical schools in Europe. This advancement would exert a most auspicious influence on the colleges of our state, and the inhabitants would acquire a character, superior to those of any

* In the university of Leipzig, and perhaps in some others of Germany, lectures are delivered on education, in which the professor gives a historical view of the state of education in ancient and modern times, and examines all the important systems that have been formed upon this subject. In such a seminary as I have proposed, lectures of this kind, as well as those above referred to, should be given, and after a residence there of three or four years, young men would be qualified to instruct the great mass of the people, in such a manner, as to elevate the next generation far above the station filled by their fathers. Young men thus educated, would be certain of success, and by them every important vacancy would be filled.

province in the civilized world. Connecticut is too small in territory to exert much influence in our national councils. Many of the small states of Germany are almost invisible, when glancing your eye at the map of Europe, and like them, Connecticut is barely seen in a general survey of the map of the United States. Like them, however, Connecticut may rise to an intellectual elevation which shall excite the envy of those great states, which now surpass her so much in population and resources. There is no other way for her to exert an influence over the union. If she does not pursue this course, if she does not maintain her comparative literary eminence, she will soon cease to attract attention, and she will, ere long be unobserved, unless to contrast the spirit of her children, with that love of excelling, for which their fathers were so much distinguished.* On the other hand, if she greatly enlarges the means of education for the mass of the people, and if her classical schools and colleges are placed on a broad and noble foundation, she will in less than a century, acquire that elevation of character, which will make her sons glory in their birth-place, and to be able to say, I am a citizen of Connecticut, will be to them a source of as much pride, as an Athenian ever felt in the age of Pericles, when looking at the city of Minerva.

Every clergyman in Prussia is required to visit the school or schools of his parish, and to ascertain whether the teacher fulfils his duties. He must confer with him often, must point out any defects which may exist in his mode of discipline or instruction, and see generally that he adopts the course which will best promote the interests of the school. Should the instructer not approve of the plans proposed, the question is referred to the superintendent of the district, who decides, and from whose decision there is no appeal. The clergyman of each parish makes an annual report to this officer, and the general report of the latter is sent to the Minister of Public Instruction once a year. A com-

* Our ancestors, not only when New England was settled, but down to the beginning of the last century, felt an ardent desire to provide the means of education for their children. They were poor, we are comparatively rich: they were exposed to great hardships; we are enjoying lives of tranquility. Let us, with our superior advantages, manifest an equal interest for those who are to succeed us, that they did for us.

mittee, consisting of one or more inspectors appointed by government, with the superintendent, or some person whom he may appoint, examine all the schools within their district, once or twice a year, to ascertain whether the reports made by the clergy are correct, as well as to form a general view of the state of education in their provinces. The existing defects and the necessary improvements are thus made known to the government, and such alterations are then made as are requisite.

The instructers are required to confine themselves almost exclusively to their professions, and not to pursue any one which will interfere with their business of instruction. Other pursuits are allowed in those cases only in which the receipts of the school do not furnish a subsistence. The duties of the teacher are numerous, as he is not only an instructer of youth, but is also a servant of the church. In the former capacity he must attend to the education of his pupils in the common branches of instruction, and also in biblical knowledge. Every morning and afternoon he is required to open the school with singing and prayer, and to close it with singing a hymn, in which such of his pupils as are capable unite. In the school, he is never to appear in dishabille, but as the ordinance of December 24, 1820, decrees, he must "never be without a cravat, nor wear slippers" before his pupils, as he would thus lose much of his influence. It is also enacted, that he shall never smoke in the school room; for so universal is this custom, that nothing but a royal ordinance could prevent it. In his capacity as a servant of the church, he officiates as chorister; for Germany is a nation of singers, and in those village churches where there is an organ it is his duty to play upon it. During the sickness or absence of the clergyman, he is required to officiate as his substitute; to read such a sermon as the preacher has previously selected, and afterwards to catechise the children. In the church, he must always appear in black, and when the pastor is present, must take charge of his scholars. In every situation he is required to yield the precedence to the clergyman. Without the permission of the latter he cannot be absent from the school; and with such permission no longer period than three days. Should he desire a longer absence, it is necessary to apply to the superintendent, without whose approbation no alterations in the prescribed mode of teaching are allowed.

Every parent is required to send his children to school as soon as they have reached a certain age, which, if I mistake not, is six years. It is the duty of the clergyman to visit his people annually, to ascertain if there are any parents who do not comply with this regulation. Should such parents, after having been notified by him, refuse to send their children, they are arraigned before a public tribunal, where they are punished by a fine. For the first week's absence of each child, the fine is one-thirtieth part of a rix dollar; for the second, one-fourth; for the third, two-thirds; and for the fourth, a rix dollar. Should he still continue to refuse to send his child, he is compelled to pay thirty fold. This penalty is imposed between the first of October and the first of April. From the first of April to the first of July, the child is not required to attend school but half of the time; and after the last mentioned period, until the first of October, parents are not required to send their children, as they need their assistance during the harvest months. The children must remain at school until they are confirmed, which usually takes place at fifteen years of age, though it is sometimes delayed by the parents until sixteen.

The school-house is erected at the expense of the parish, and must be sufficiently large to accommodate the scholars and the family of the instructer, who receives the use of it gratis. In the vicinity of this edifice is a small garden, and sometimes a few acres of land; of which he has the use so long as he remains the instructer of the parish. This building is not very elegant, as it usually contains but four or five chambers, but it is suitable for one whose income is so moderate as that of most of the instructers. Every parish has a treasury, from the funds of which the instructer is paid from seventy to eighty dollars per annum. Besides this amount, each parent pays to him six *pfennings* a week, or about six cents per month, for the instruction of each of his children. In some cases he receives also a small quantity of butter and flax from the parents. His whole income, exclusive of the rent of the school-house and the ground connected with it, rarely amounts to more than one hundred spanish dollars, if he teaches one of the village schools. Those who live in the towns receive about one hundred and fifty dollars.

All the books which are studied are selected by the consistory, and no new one can be introduced without its permission. The Bible is universally read by the children, and forms, as in our own country, the foundation of education for the youth of Prussia.

From this statement you will perceive how much this government has done for the people. In no country in Europe, except Saxony and the south of Scotland, and possibly in one or two of the smaller states of Germany, is education so universally diffused as in the central part of this kingdom. These schools are established in every village. It may be said with truth of Prussia, that it is one of the most enlightened countries in the world; for among the younger class of the population, it is rare to see an individual who cannot both read and write. I make use of the word younger, because many of the laws relating to education, were enacted during the reign of the present monarch, before whose accession the schools were in a much lower state than at present. No one can help respecting Frederick William for the wisdom he has exhibited, in thus improving the character of his subjects. This emotion will be stronger, when it is recollected that he is one of the most active members of the Holy Alliance, and that he is still not afraid of the general diffusion of intelligence among his subjects. He is here laying a broad foundation for the future prosperity of Prussia, and it is to be hoped also, for the future liberty of the nation. This event will not probably happen in many years, but it must come should these institutions continue for a century.

Although there are some defects in the plan which Frederick William has formed to diffuse intelligence throughout his dominions, the system is still so much superior to those of most Protestant countries, that you will perhaps feel no little surprise at this account of it; accustomed as we have been only a few years since, to class the Prussian peasantry below even those of England. Perhaps the greatest defect in the schools of Prussia, is the allowance of so limited a compensation to the instructers. In a country like ours, this evil need not exist; but in Prussia it is unavoidable, so long as it continues as poor a kingdom as it is at present. The price of produce is now so low, and the difficulties of finding a market are so great, that it is extremely incon-

venient for many of the peasantry, to pay even the small sum which the law requires for the education of their children.

Allusion has been already made to the great benefit that might be derived from the establishment of seminaries, for the education of instructers. There is another advantage which would flow from such institutions. In the United States the business of instruction is, to a great extent, a secondary employment. It is one which occupies most teachers but a limited part of their lives. The young men who are thus employed, find in the almost immeasurable West a larger scope for their talents; while the young ladies and young widows, to whom the education of most children is committed, soon discover that matrimony is a much more desirable state, than the "delightful task of teaching the young idea how to shoot." Instructers in Prussia have no other employment. This is the great object of their existence; here is their permanent home. Were such seminaries established with us, by increasing the compensation of the instructers we might easily persuade them to make it the employment of their lives. It would then soon become a distinct profession, and many young men of respectable talents and acquirements would look to it as a future occupation. Instead of being compelled to exchange the instructers of our children so frequently, the schools would be re-organized, and the teachers would rarely think of pursuing any other profession.

From the remarks which have been made by me on the subject of education in Germany, as well as from my great approbation of the character of their universities, I hope you will not think that I am becoming too Germanic in my feelings, or that I have lost any of my attachment to my native land. I have, however, been too long absent from home, to use nothing but superlatives when speaking of every characteristic of our country, or to shut my eyes upon the improvements which exist on this side of the Atlantic. We have much in which we may glory; and when looking at the future prospects of our great nation, my heart often beats with pride, and I hope with gratitude, for our civil and religious liberty, as well as for our almost universal spirit of enterprise and religious philanthropy. But I trust that this admiration will not so dazzle my eyes, as to prevent me from seeing else-

where the good which we do not possess, and from profiting by the view. Though we are able to teach the governments on the continent many political truths, we have yet much to learn from them in return ; and peculiarly on the subject of education, before we shall attain that literary pre-eminence which is the blessing and the glory of Germany.

LETTER XV.

Wittenberg, May, 1826.

I left Berlin on Saturday the 29th, and arrived here the same evening. In the carriage were two Russian students, a Bavarian and an Erfurth Saxon. The Russians hardly opened their lips, unless to receive their pipes or their dinner. The Bavarian who had served in the Russian campaign, was brimfull of war, cannon, and thunder; and in all his descriptions of the great events of which he had been an eye witness, he made himself so prominent, that he soon found us as unwilling to listen as he was desirous of being heard. The Saxon, who had been very complaisant to his southern brother in giving him the field during the first hour or two of our ride, no sooner discovered him flagging, than he commenced talking with great energy. He began on politics, with arguments conclusive to himself, but not equally so to an opponent, as they were of the following character:—Government did not pursue the best course, and they might do better, and any one could see it was true, and no one could doubt of it, and it was evident, &c. Finding no one disposed to take him up on these positions, he changed his subject to Berlin, which from the recollections of the late cold weather, or from some other cause, he had found very uninteresting. Seeing on one of the signs which we passed, the picture of a beer bottle with a tumbler receiving its contents, he next descanted on the subject of beer. He gave us an account of this beverage in every part of Germany through which he had travelled; informed us of the comparative price in Prussia, Saxony, Saxon Erfurth and Bavaria; and described minutely the varieties of colour in all the beer manufactured from Königsberg to Munich. On these and other properties of this drink he talked until his tongue was parched with this violent exercise; and when the carriage stopped, his conversation would cease only long enough for him to pour down his bottle. His lips would then acquire new vigour, and a stream of frothy words

would flow, reminding us of the rush of a sluice, or the fall of a cascade.

Beer is the universal drink of the lower classes of society, and a very favourite beverage with those that are above them. When well made, it is much superior to English ale or porter, but is equally expensive. That usually drunk by the peasantry and common people of the cities, is much inferior to the ale of our country, and much less nutritious than that of England. Every peasant, in this part of Prussia, carries it with him into the fields, and considers it as necessary as bread. In every village there are one or more breweries, where the inhabitants procure their supply. It is always examined to see if it has the necessary strength, when the price is fixed from week to week, in proportion to that of grain. As that is very low at the present time, beer costs but a Spanish dollar for twelve or fourteen gallons. With a reasonable thirst, even the Prussian peasants could afford to indulge themselves with it; but they, as well as some of the classes above them, drink an amount which no stomach but a German's could contain, and which no one could believe who has not travelled in Germany. I know of no feats, in beer drinking, to compare with those of the Heidelberg students. These knights of the tankard, or rather of the beer jug, for the former article is confined I believe to England and our own country, have acquired a reputation for drinking which excites the admiration of the *Burschen* in the other universities. It is currently reported that they place themselves at their drinking contests in two rows, with nine of these jugs in front of each student. These he must empty, or lose his reputation as a genuine *Saufer*. As they hold from one to two quarts, he is under the necessity of resorting to his pipe, which creates a thirst every five minutes; and by this means, during a few hours sitting, he is able to exhaust them all.

If you will imagine twenty students placed on opposite benches, with eighteen rows of jugs between them; an atmosphere gradually thickening with smoke, until they become almost invisible to each other; the lamps appearing through the smoke like so many lights barely gleaming through a fog; while from the stentorian lungs of some one of them a song in honour of beer is belched

out, in the chorus of which they all unite with a shout of thunder, —you will form an idea of one of the Heidelberg drinking contests, as they are described by those who have often been conspicuous on such occasions. A *Bursch*, who belonged to the university of Heidelberg a few years since, has acquired an immortality of renown among all succeeding beer drinkers, by a feat which they deem equal to any thing recorded of Hercules. It is related of him, that at one sitting (probably from six, P. M. till midnight,) he drank fifty-six tumblers of beer, without experiencing any inconvenience.*

The students have a great variety of songs in praise of beer; and in the northern universities they are sung as often as those in honour of Bacchus. I have a dozen or more of them in my possession, which were evidently written under the inspiration of this liquor; some of them, not improbably, by the students of Heidelberg. This favourite drink is praised in them in all the melody of verse, with imagery derived from Germany and from the various phenomena of fermentation. This subject would kindle the fancy of no one but a poet of this country. There is, however, in these songs, as much poetry of thought and language as in those composed in praise of the grape. These students' songs are peculiar to the German universities, every one of which has its book of *Burschen* lyrics. They are written in commendation of the different *Landsmannschaften*, in honour of the *Burschen's* life, and of the university, on freedom, on the war of 1813 and '14, in praise of wine, beer, punch, and of the "glorious Father Rhine." This bacchanalian and beer poetry is full of shouting choruses, which are admirably adapted to the atmosphere of Auerbach's cellar, and other subterranean places of resort of a similar description. The songs on freedom are frequently of a very high character, and overflowing with enthusiasm. When looking at the Germans at the present time, it seems almost impossible to believe, that poetry so filled with aspirations for liberty and so heroic in sentiment, ever came from a people who know nothing of freedom but the name. They were composed, however, under

* Six Heidelberg students who were my fellow travellers for several days, each told me that no one at that university doubted of the reality of this exploit. It a very large story to believe, and still they had no doubt of its truth.

the momentary excitement which prevailed when their yoke was broken in 1813, and in the full belief that it was broken for ever. Many of these songs were written by the students, and others by those who had left the universities, and were already mingling in the combat. I know but few patriotic songs of a higher character, or more calculated to rouse the spirit of a nation. They were sung by the bands of the students, as they advanced to join their brothers in arms, and as they were preparing for battle; and they are thought to have contributed not a little to the victories which were gained. Those written by Körner, and C. M. Arndt, are particularly filled with patriotic fire.

Besides these songs, there are others appropriated to the different professions, especially to the law. The Leipzig students have thrown not a small part of the *Corpus Juris* into German verse. These songs are not very poetical, but sufficiently so to jingle very well, when the music is melodious. They are undoubtedly of no little assistance to the student, in acquiring the rudiments of this profession; as what we once learn in rhyme is rarely forgotten, and is much more easily understood by a young student, than the technical language of jurisprudence. This species of lyrics is very much prized, as it enables them to pursue their studies in the midst of a beer carousal.

In quitting Berlin with your face turned towards the south, you anticipate the pleasure of leaving the sands behind you; but not such is the reality. Sand and pine trees, and pine trees and sand, spread before, behind, and around you. Miserable villages rising above a still more wretched soil, are here and there scattered over this region of barrenness. Wherever the earth is covered with verdure, it is by dint of effort; and never was the curse upon man more literally fulfilled, than on the inhabitants residing in this region of poverty. The surface is most of the way a continued plain, with scarcely an elevation worthy the name of a hillock. The celebrity which Saxony has so long enjoyed, for the fertility of its soil, leads you to hope, that every mile you travel, in approaching this comparative land of promise, will present a fairer region, to your eye. After leaving Trauenbrietzen (half way between Berlin and Wittenberg) a few miles behind, you arrive at the boundary of Saxony, as it existed before the Congress of Vienna. The

word Saxony, to the ears of the Germans, and to those of all travellers who have associated much with them, is synonymous with fertility, but no bright verdure exhibits to your eye a fairer land, and the walls and towers of Wittenberg rise from the sand, as if to remind you of Tadmor in the desert.

Wittenberg, which lies about a quarter of a mile north-east of the Elbe, is one of the weakest fortresses of Prussia; having nothing but a wall, a broad trench, and two towers, to resist an invading enemy. It was defended by the French against the Prussians, for many months, during the war of 1813—14; and, at length, on the 12th of January, 1814, when the water which filled the trenches was frozen, it was carried by storm, with the loss of about one hundred men. Although to the eye of the mere soldier it has little to recommend it, still to a Protestant, and to every one who loves mental freedom, it will long remain a hallowed spot, as it was once the scene of the labours, and now contains the ashes, of two of the greatest reformers. It was in the convent of Wittenberg that Luther studied when he first felt the luxury of moral emancipation. It was here that he thundered against the iniquities and oppression of the Catholic hierarchy, and awakened Europe from the lethargy of ages. Here he preached for many years against the religious prostitutions of the papal see, and roused the animosity of the pope, of kings, and emperors, until the moral world was in arms. Melanchthon, his coadjutor and friend, here united with him in the defence of every thing dear to man, until on Wittenberg the eyes of nations were fixed, as on the fortress of their hopes. It was to Christendom a moral Marathon, where the fetters of tyranny and superstition were broken, when millions, catching the song of triumph, orgot that they had been slaves.

The convent in which Luther studied is still remaining, and the traveller enters the room in which he wrote his replies to the anathemas of papacy, with a curiosity only equalled by his admiration for the character of that great reformer. The chair in which he was accustomed to sit, and the table on which he wrote, are still there; having undergone no alteration during the revolution of three centuries, except the clippings which have been made by the knives of travellers. In his study is a portrait of this great man, as well as of Frederick the Wise, and of his brother John the

Steadfast; the two Saxon electors who protected him against imperial and papal power. Just out of the gate through which you pass in going to Dresden, you discover a small piece of ground fenced in, where a few wild flowers are still growing. Here, on the 10th of December, 1520, Luther publicly burned the papal bull which anathematized him, in presence of the citizens of Wittenberg. It is difficult for us, accustomed as we are to laugh at papal anathemas, and knowing how harmless they are now, to form an adequate conception of the courage that thus bade defiance to the pope, the emperor, and to the dukes and electors whose territories surrounded him.

In the Schloss Kirche, or as it is more frequently called, the Garnison Kirche, *garrison church*, Luther lies buried, with the following short inscription.

Martini Lutheri. S. Theologiae. D. Corpus. H. L. S. E. qui Ann. Christi. M. D. XLVI. XII Cal. Martii. Eyslebii in Patria. S. M. O. C. V. Ann. LXIII. M. II. D. X.

At the distance of a few feet, Melanchthon lies interred, with the following inscription.

Philippi Melanchthonis. S. V. Corpus. H. L. S. E. qui Ann. Christi. M. D. LX. XII Cal. Maiæ. in hac urbe. M. O. C. V. Ann. LXIII. M. II. D. II.

These inscriptions are on bronze plates of three feet in length, by about one and a half in breadth. They are each of them sunk six or eight inches below the pavement of the church. Directly beneath, the ashes of these mighty dead are reposing. Near their tombs, are suspended against the walls of the church, two full length portraits of these great men. They were executed during the lives of the Reformers, by Lewis Cranach, an artist who was not without merit as a portrait painter, though his historical pieces, of which there are still several in the Stadt Kirche, excite very little admiration in the mind of one accustomed to the galleries of Italy. Melanchthon is drawn in his morning gown, which is edged with fur; Luther in a preacher's gown, similar to that worn by the Lutheran clergymen at the present time. In the portraits of the Reformers which I had previously seen, they are so frequently painted with beards as long as a capuchin's, that I had been accustomed to associate this appendage with all the pictures of that age.

I was surprised to find Luther without any beard, and Melanchthon with one of not more than half an inch in length. The beard of Melanchthon is quite grey, while his hair is black. He is represented as having been of small stature, but in this picture he is above the ordinary height. Luther is painted as quite fat, and appears about fifty-five years of age. Melanchthon is very thin, and apparently older. The two electors who have been mentioned, both lie interred in front of the altar. In the wall are bronze monuments of them in relief, and near their tombs are two wooden statues clad in armour, in the attitude of prayer. In the church *della Santa Croce*, or of the Holy Cross, at Florence, are the ashes of Galileo, Alfieri, and of the greatest of modern Italians, Michael Angelo Buonarotti. The Florentines reverence this edifice, on account of their great countrymen whose ashes are there reposing, and Byron, speaking of it, says,

> ———in Santa Croce lie
> Ashes which make it holier.

If they in science, poetry and the fine arts gave a reviving day to Italy, the reformers, whose ashes hallow the soil of Wittenberg, enlightened the world. Italy in science, poetry and the fine arts, is now in comparative obscurity, while the sun of moral freedom is rising towards the zenith, where it will ere long stand still in its meridian splendour.

In the *Stadt Kirche* (city church) or as it was formerly called the *Pfarre Kirche der heiligen Maria* (the parish church of holy Mary) where Luther was accustomed to preach to the inhabitants of Wittenberg, the brass baptismal font, from which he baptised the children of the parish, is still standing. The French, while they were in possession of Wittenberg, in imitation of the English when besieged in Boston, converted this heretical church into a stable for their horses. The soldiers robbed the font of two of the brass saints in relief, but went no farther in their spoilations, except to scratch with their bayonets two or three old paintings which had little merit besides their age. One of these represents the harvest of the world, in which Luther is the prominent figure, who is placed in a much more conspicuous situation than the angels who are labouring with him. Here are also several pictures by Cranach,

one of which is, the last supper, in which he has substituted himself for one of the apostles, and for the remainder has taken the faces of some of his friends, the citizens of Wittenberg. Another represents Melanchthon baptizing an infant, and after the Lutheran mode, pouring water from the palm of his right hand on the back of the infant's head. It is a long time since I have read an account of the Reformation, but if my memory does not fail me, he was never an ordained clergyman, and consequently had no right, according to the regulations of the Lutheran church, to officiate at this ceremony.

Luther conferred upon Northern Germany, and on the world, a greater blessing than has been imparted by any other individual during the last seventeen centuries. From the time that he first promulgated the rights of the human mind, three hundred years had elapsed before a single monument was erected to his name. The present king in the year 1821, caused one to be erected in the public square of Wittenberg. It rests upon a pedestal of red granite, about twelve feet square and eight in height. On this stands a colossal bronze statute of Luther, clad in his robes. Over him rises a Gothic canopy of cast iron, the summit of which is not more than thirty feet in altitude. Were I Frederick William, and could I say as he can, that Luther was a native of my kingdom, I would elevate a monument to his name that should rise above the clouds.

In 1502, Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony, who was so distinguished by his friendship for Luther, founded in this city a university. Through the talents and fame of Luther and Melanchthon, students soon came to it from distant parts of Germany. It became in a few years a powerful rival of Leipzig, and for a long period continued one of the most celebrated universities of this country. It was in the year 1815 united to that of Halle, and its funds, consisting of between three and four hundred thousand dollars, were transferred to that institution. The library, with the exception of about twenty thousand volumes on theology, was removed to the former city. The reasons which influenced the Prussian government to unite them, were the proximity of Halle, and the great increase of the means of instruction arising from this union of the *materiel* of literature, and the greater subdivision of

intellectual labour. To reconcile the inhabitants to the loss of the university, another institution was created, to which they gave the name of the Theological Seminary. The object the government had in view, was to qualify young clergymen for the practical part of their profession, as well as to give them an opportunity to pursue their studies still farther than was usually done at the university. They are here taught every thing relating to the ceremonial duties of the clergy, and perform them until they are perfectly acquainted with all those devolving upon a pastor. The students remain here two years, pursuing also their exegetical studies, didactic theology, philosophy, &c. When they leave the institution and enter on the duties of their profession, they are in intellectual and other qualifications, probably not surpassed, if equalled, by those of any other country. The poverty of the young theologians in this country is so great, that few of them are able to do more than support themselves during the three years they reside at the university. This is the reason why this institution has never flourished, as much as a stranger would be led to anticipate, in this land of education. There are at the present time not more than thirty students, and but three professors.

Here I became acquainted with professor Haubner of the theological seminary, who is reputed to be one of the most eloquent preachers of this country. His ill health prevented my having an opportunity of comparing him with those of Berlin. He is considered by his acquaintance and by the students, one of the most distinguished of the orthodox clergymen. The public as yet have had no opportunity of forming an opinion of his talents and researches, except through the medium of the pulpit, as he forms in one respect an exception to almost all the German literati I have seen; viz., that although more than forty years of age, he has never published any work larger than a pamphlet. He has been occupied many years in preparing a work on the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament, from which his friends anticipate the happiest results.

Few objects, since my first arrival in Europe, have more powerfully reminded me that I have left my own country, than the private libraries of the learned men of Germany. That of professor Haubner, which I examined, is in theological worth

superior to any public library in the United States, except that of Cambridge, and it is little, if any, inferior to that. It is principally composed of works more or less connected with his profession, consisting of the most valuable theological discussions in the modern languages of Europe, of a great number in Latin and Greek, as well as of many of the principal authors in oriental literature, with commentaries on their writings. I found here the works of the most distinguished English defenders of infidelity, as well as of those of Christianity. He, like every other German I have seen, whatever his creed may be, entertains none of that dread of examining the writings of those who are opposed to him in sentiment, which is not unfrequent with us; making truth only the great object of his researches. In every country but Germany, a theological education is principally confined to reading works in defence of the creed of the sect to which the individual belongs; those which are opposed to his faith being rarely perused. Here, however, the rule of rationalist as well as orthodox is, that a creed which will not stand the test of examination, is of course, an imaginary structure; and that a revelation which will not bear the attacks of deism, is not worthy of God. If we are required to "be always ready to give a reason of the hope that is in us," it certainly is our duty to examine both sides of a question, so important as our faith, and seeking guidance from above, to advance to such an examination without fear of the consequences. If not, we, like the Catholics, have a mere hereditary creed, and like them, we should renounce that freedom of thought in religion, which Luther acquired by his mighty efforts, and which he left as a legacy to the Protestant world. By taking the opposite ground, we justify the Catholics for surrendering their reason to the priesthood, and we imitate them too; for it is as great mental slavery to believe this or that faith, because it is that of our fathers, or the sect to which we belong, as to receive our opinions from a living pope, priest, or cardinal. But we do the greatest possible injury to our creed by manifesting this dread of attack; we acknowledge that our fortress is too weak to be defended, and thus confess to others, that we are holding untenable ground. The English clergy are accused by their opponents of pursuing this course; and, certainly, until within a few years, a very free spirit of investigation

has not existed in our own country. Professor Stuart, in his department, has done much towards breaking the last fetters which held the mind in slavery; and, in the institution where he lectures, has introduced a freedom of examination, for which he deserves the thanks of every liberal man.

With such feelings, it gave me not a little pleasure, to see that professor Haubner was resolved to defend truth, not merely against the attacks of native but of foreign opponents. He has been collecting his library the last twenty years, and by pursuing the greatest economy, has increased it to more than seven thousand volumes. When I remember that his salary as a preacher and professor, has not during this period averaged seven hundred dollars, I cannot but admire that love of literature, and that willingness to submit to privations which he must have exhibited, in order to procure the means of discovering and defending truth. Such a private theological library has never been found in our country, and I fear there will be none such for a long period to come.

I called to-day on professor Schleusner, the celebrated author of the Lexicon of the New Testament. He is now sixty-seven years of age, rather short, and has one of the most intelligent faces I have seen west of the Rhine. He is very ardent in his feelings, and expresses himself with all the animation of one of twenty-five years of age. I found him very liberal on all subjects, exhibiting the most expanded views, and feeling not merely for his country, but for mankind. He is a great admirer of our institutions, and to my surprise, expressed the belief, that in a century, we should be far more distinguished for literature than any country in Europe. He made the same remark to me, in proof of this opinion, that the astronomer did, whom I met several years since on the summit of the observatory in Palermo, that literature had always been marching towards the west, and that it would, ere long, flourish in our country with more vigour than it ever had in the old world. On this principle, the Chinese and Tartars will, a few centuries hence, look to us as the land of science and learning; and the poets of the Colorado, the Columbia, and Nootka Sound, will have their admirers on the banks of the Hoang Ho, the Amour, and in Kamschatka. This would not be more surprising,

than our country would be at the present time to an inhabitant of London during the reign of queen Anne, could he arise from his grave, and make a few excursions on our rivers, or behold the hundred steam-boats on the Mississippi and its branches. I found professor S. so warm a friend of the Greeks, that he declared to me, that were he only forty years of age, he would abandon his library and literary pursuits, and offer them his services to assist them in regaining their independence; which, he said, was the cause not only of Greece, but of humanity. I could not help admiring the noble ardour, and devoted sentiments, which he manifested, when conversing upon a subject so dear to every philanthropist; and was not more surprised than delighted, to see one of the German *savans*, whose life had been passed in exegetical and philological studies, thus willing to sacrifice his all, that he might assist a nation struggling for life and liberty.

LETTER XVII.

HALLE, MAY, 1826.

SOON after leaving Wittenberg, I crossed the Elbe, which is there not more than five hundred feet in width. A few miles from that city, the soil changes to a fine loom, and the long anticipated fertility of Saxony appears, furnishing quite a relief to the eye, so long accustomed to the sands of the north. The villages by their magnitude, remind you even at a distance, that you have reached a fairer land, while their neatness and comparative comfort, convey an idea of independence, rarely enjoyed by the Prussian peasant. The road passed through a region less level than the country around the metropolis, still sufficiently so, to exhibit several platoons of windmills during the ride. As the sun went down, a shower presented us with the sight of a beautiful rainbow, the first I have seen since leaving Switzerland, in August, 1824. That country is as much a land of rainbows as of lakes and mountains, and no where, except at Niagara, is the eye delighted with colours more glorious, than those presented by her evening showers. In the Tyrol, and in some of the mountains of northern Germany, the refreshing showers which add so much to the beauty of our summer scenery, are often seen, while every neighbouring peak rolls back the thunder with an eloquent response. In the lower grounds of Europe, however, these evening rains are much less frequent, and when they appear, they usually continue long after night has covered the earth.

Halle, where I arrived at dusk, is interesting to the soldier, from its having been exposed to various sieges, but it was still more so to me from its university, which at the present time, is more distinguished for talent and the number of its students and instructers, than any other in Prussia, that of Berlin excepted. The exertions of Gesenius, Niemeyer, Knappe, Weggescheider and

others, have greatly extended its reputation. In the department of theology, it is better manned, than any other university of Germany. It is universally considered in this country, as the first theological school in Europe, having between seven hundred and fifty and eight hundred students, belonging to that department. This is one half more than in any other university of Germany, and is rather a larger number, than that of the law students of Göttingen. There are, at the present time, sixty instructers, and nearly twelve hundred students. This is not only the great theological school of Germany, but the only one, where theology appears more prominent than the other branches of education. Göttingen and Heidelberg are renowned as schools of law. The university of Berlin is more distinguished in the same science, and also in medicine, notwithstanding Schleiermacher, who is by many, believed to possess one of the brightest minds in Germany, is at the head of the theological department of that institution. Leipzig is much more celebrated in classical literature than any other university, but in its professional department, it is equalled by several.

Halle is the strong hold of rationalism, and from the attacks of the professors of this institution, revelation has suffered more, than from those of any other. Knappe, who died a few weeks since, was the only one who had the reputation of being orthodox, as the word is now understood. Professor Tholuck, of Berlin, has been chosen to succeed him, and there is reason to believe, that he will defend the cause which he has espoused, with even more talent than his predecessor. The students here are almost all of them rationalists, and for *rows*, for noise, and for the wild savage conduct which marks the *Burschenleben*, they are only equalled by those of Jena and Heidelberg. They are like those of the other universities, divided into Landsmannschaften, and in the variety and richness of cap uniform, they leave all others far behind them. They dress better than those of Berlin, but being accustomed to rule the town, they exhibit a want of complaisance to strangers, more suitable to the age of their idol, the famous Hermann, than to the present century.

The town of Halle contained in 1823, 23,800 inhabitants. Of all the German cities I have yet seen, it is the meanest in appearance, although it lies in the centre of a luxuriant country. Its

streets are short, crooked, narrow, and dirty, while the houses, although elevated, are in their exterior the very antipodes of taste and beauty. The town, notwithstanding its salt manufactories, depends principally upon the students for its existence, and were the university removed, many of the inhabitants would be deprived of the means of subsistence. The university edifice is in unison with the appearance of the town, resembling an old monastery, which has been uninhabited for centuries, one where time has gormandized in the revelry of undisputed possession. Another edifice will be erected as soon as the necessary means are procured; for the accomplishment of which object the king has given forty thousand dollars. This and several other acts of generosity on the part of Frederick William, of which the motive was the increase of the literary resources of his kingdom, should be mentioned to his honour, and not forgotten even by those, who have looked to him in vain for a constitution.

Among the literati of this institution, there is no one whose name is so extensively known in the United States as Professor Gesenius. As he is not only admitted to be the first Hebrew scholar of Germany, but is probably regarded every where, as standing at the head of Hebrew philologists, you may expect something more than a general notice of him. This can be easily given you, as he received me in a very friendly manner, giving me much of his time during the few days I passed here. He is about five feet eight inches in height, rather plump, has a high and beautiful forehead, and an eye beaming with intelligence. His face is much rounder than you often see in the United States, presenting a physiognomy not precisely German, but more so than belongs to those nations who have derived their language from the old Romans. Having travelled much more than most of the German professors, he is more a man of the world, and never exhibits that embarrassment you so often observe when conversing with them. Though he has intellectually lived in a distant age and country, during not a small portion of his life, his oriental studies have not unfitted him for mingling with the country and age in which he lives. The Hebrew *savant* appears only in his study and lecture room, and in his works; but there he reminds you of one born in the golden age of Hebrew literature, whose birth place was the metropolis of

Palestine. In society or in a ramble with him, you find his conversation very amusing and sprightly. Nothing of the book-worm appears; and, from his manner and remarks, you would not imagine that immense folios and quartos had been his most intimate companions. Paris, the French character, German universities, the late war, the state of education in our country, our political institutions, and the mounds and fortifications of our western states, were the prominent topics of conversation, into which he entered with great ardour, illustrating his opinions and arguments with a fund of anecdote and humour. His great frankness and agreeable manners, soon make one cease to feel that he is a stranger, and place him on the footing of a friend.

He began his literary career as a lecturer at the early age of twenty, and, at twenty-eight, published his celebrated Lexicon, a work which has not only never been equalled, but has never been approached, by those of other Hebrew scholars. We have had many professed Hebraists in the United States, but until within a few years, we could never boast of one that would not have been regarded as a stripling by his side.

Professor Gesenius, as I have remarked, was delivering lectures upon Hebrew literature and exegesis, at twenty years of age, and, at twenty-eight, he published his great Lexicon. Where is the young theologian of our country, of twenty years of age, that can give an exegetical view of the book of Isaiah, or even of Genesis? Such an individual may exist, but of such a one I have never heard. He is now, as he informed me, forty years of age; but, were it not for a few scattering gray hairs, you would not suppose him to be more than thirty-five. At this early period it may be said of him, as of Frederick the Great, *fama ubique.*

He had received the translation of his lexicon by Professor Gibbs, of which he spoke in very high terms, observing that his small lexicon had numerous errors and imperfections, which the translator had not only avoided, but had also very much improved many parts of it. He is now printing his Hebrew and Latin lexicon, which is finished in quarto and folio, as far as the letter *gimmel.* The first half of it will appear in about eighteen months, very much enlarged, and undoubtedly much superior to the former one. Professor Gesenius visited England a few years since, and

passed some months at Oxford and Cambridge, examining the manuscripts of those universities. I found that he, as well all the theological professors of this country, whom Ihave seen, orthodox as well as rationalists, entertain a very low opinion of the intellectual theology of England at the present time. He informed me, that he saw but two orientalists in Great Britain, and he believed that there were but very few in that country who deserved the name. The investigations of Professor G. have been principally confined to philology and exegesis. Among his exegetical works, his commentary on Isaiah is the most celebrated, and one which in this country, and I believe with us also, is thought to leave all others far behind. The translation of this book, which he has there presented to the public, is most accurate and beautiful. The illustrations exhibit very uncommon research and philological acumen. As his studies have been chiefly confined to oriental literature, his peculiar sentiments on dogmatical theology have never been expressed. That he does not belong to the orthodox party is well known, but he is far from adopting the extravagant views of many of the German theologians. His lecture-room is overflowing, and not only is every seat occupied, but some forty or fifty of the students are compelled to stand. At one of his lectures which I attended, about three hundred were present, but had the room been large enough to admit them, the number would probably have been doubled. His subject was the peculiar characteristics of Isaiah, as a poet. These he delineated with the talent of the philologist and man of taste, and he made those nice discriminations you would anticipate from one, so intimately acquainted with the language, the age, and the country of the prophet. There were no general remarks and conjectures: it was that minute analysis which distinguishes the true scholar from the great majority of commentators.

In one of my letters from Berlin, dated March, when remarking upon the climate of that part of Prussia. I observed that the weather had been so warm for several weeks, that my windows were kept open during several hours of the day. About the middle of March, the second rainy season commenced: since that time, with the exception of a week of blustering winds, (when the sand of the metropolis forsook the pavements, and remained most

of the time suspended in the air,) we have had nothing but rain, mist, damp, and clouds, which latter rarely passed over us without discharging their contents. At Wittenberg, in consequence of the violence of the winds, I found it necessary to defend myself with my cloak, although my stove was heated as frequently as in mid-winter. It was not an intense cold, but that raw, chilly dampness which, as the Germans express it, goes through marrow and bone. At Paris, during the same season of the last year, the weather was delightful. In the early parts of April, the gardens of the Tuileries and Luxembourg were arrayed in all their beauty, and the first week of May was so warm, that the sunny side of the Boulevards was almost deserted. So long, however, has the sun hid his face, that every one longs to see his beams again, with the earnestness of the bewildered traveller. This continual humidity confines the invalid so closely to his rooms, that the mind becomes as gloomy as the clouds above him. Accustomed as we are to bright clear winters, we submit to the humidity of the north of Europe with less patience than the inhabitants of any other country. Cheerfulness and energy give glace to an *ennui* as thick, and as dark, as the veil which hides the heavens from our eyes.

Although most of that part of Prussia, over which I have passed since leaving Trauenbrietzen, (Halle however is excepted,) was separated from Saxony and united to Prussia more than ten years since, at the Congress of Vienna, it has lost as yet very little of the Saxon, and acquired very little of the Prussian character. Its dialect is Saxon, much of its territory is in fertility genuine Saxony, and it is much more proud of its Saxon fame during the Reformation, than of the prowess of the armies of Frederick and Blucher. Besides the glorious recollections awakened by the part their ancestors sustained in freeing the human mind from the bondage of superstition, they have other reasons for desiring to remain Saxons, which are more immediately operative. One of the most important is, that the taxes of Saxony are much lighter than those of Prussia. The latter country, hemmed in as she is by France, Russia, and Austria, is under the necessity of maintaining a standing army, larger in proportion to her resources, than any other power in Europe. The southern part of Prussia, particularly Silesia and a part of Saxon Prussia, is fertile; while the northern

half, with the exception of a few small tracts of land, is by nature excessively poor. The greatest proportion of taxes consequently falls on the south, and the inhabitants groan under their burdens. "Because our taxes are so much heavier than they formerly were, and than those of Saxony now are;" was the reason every one gave me, in answer to the inquiries why they did not like the Prussian as well as the Saxon government. The Prussians, in this part of the kingdom, speak with a freedom about their monarch and his government, that forms a contrast to the sealed lips or the whispers of the inhabitants of the metropolis. It reminded me more of the freedom of political conversation in France, than any thing I have heard in Germany.

A short distance from Halle is the foundation of the old castle of Giebichenstein, or as it is more frequently called the castle of *Ludwig der Springer*. It stands near the Saale, on an elevation of between two and three hundred feet. According to tradition, Louis, a Landgrave of Thuringia, was some centuries since confined here. Tired of his captivity, he sprung from one of the windows of the castle down this precipice, and made his escape without receiving any injury from this tremendous leap, which is quite as terrible as a spring from the promontory of Leucadia. If the truth could be ascertained, it would, doubtless, be found that he availed himself of a rope or chain, and thus descended this precipice, which is several times as high as the Tarpeian. If we admit the story as it has been handed down to us, we must conclude that the Germans in his day were much more sylph-like than those of the present time, for no German flesh is now sufficiently etherial, to place itself within the influence of a perpendicular attraction of one hundred feet, without experiencing that fate which all flesh is heir to.

The obsolete meaning of the word Halle, is a salt manufactory. This town received its name from the salt springs which were discovered here many centuries since. A few of them are hired by individuals, but most of the manufactories belong to the Prussian government. These springs have been longer known than most others in this country, and are very productive, yielding from two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand bushels yearly. Salt is throughout Europe a monopoly of the government.

As the poor are compelled to use much more of it than the rich, such a regulation becomes very oppressive. In France, the government derives not a small item of its revenue from this monopoly. It is there so exclusively the property of the crown, that a law exists, that if any person manufactures it for his own use, even if he draws a bucket of water from the Atlantic or Mediterranean, and converts it into salt, he shall be sent to the gallies. Here, although it belongs to the government, the inhabitants pay but a very moderate price in comparison with many of the nations of Europe. It is sold at less than a dollar a bushel, a price which the poor can afford to pay without great inconvenience. There are, according to Hassel, about 120,000,000 of pounds manufactured in Prussia yearly, of which the mines of Schönebeck yield more than a third.

There are many other royal monopolies in this country, which in the United States would not be submitted to very patiently. All metals and beds of coal belong, not to the individuals on whose land they are found, but to the monarch. This is considered as his right, perhaps a right given him by heaven; for many of the Prussians say that their king was given them by the deity. When I tell them in reply, that Napoleon was given them by Jehovah, they make a nice distinction, denying the fact, and declare him to be a usurper. According to this opinion, the possession of a few centuries entitles a people to claim their king as a gift of Heaven, no matter how he may originally have come into possession of his power. But to return to the royal monopolies. Every individual who owns the land where mines are discovered, is allowed to purchase of the monarch the right of selling what we should consider his own property, viz. the metals which are found on his territory, provided he will pay the king his own price. So accustomed are they to view this as belonging to him, that they have no idea of their having any individual right to the profits resulting from such discoveries.

One of the royal monopolies is the chase. This has been purchased in many instances by the nobility within certain districts, for a given number of years, or for ever. In some cases, it has been granted as a present to those individuals, who from time to time, have basked in the smiles of royalty. The right of the

chase, is limited at the present time, principally to the Royal Family and to the nobility, as most of the citizens are too actively employed to devote much of their time to this amusement. They are, however, permitted to purchase this privilege of the king, or of those who have received the exclusive privilege of hunting within certain districts. The monarch, as I have been informed, owns the right of disposing of the chase, for about one-third of Prussia, while the nobles own most of the remainder. At these hunts, any individual who has not purchased the right, is authorised, if invited, to accompany the hunters to his heart's content, but on no account can he do any thing but ride, and see others shoot. Should he even kill a hare passing over his own grounds, he is sent to the *Zuchthaus*, or penitentiary, for two years, if he is a commoner, or to the *Festung*, or military prison, if he is a nobleman.

The German princes are very fond of this amusement, and whenever they go to hunt, they are attended by a numerous cavalcade of courtiers, who are expected to attend the monarch, that they may behold his prowess, and add to the splendour of the pageant. The wild boar, for that is almost the only animal worthy of receiving death from the hand of royalty, is pursued for a long time through the enclosure, and when some hours have elapsed, he is attacked by the huntsmen in the service of the prince, who wound him with their lances, until at length be falls prostrate from loss of blood. He is then surrounded by the cavalcade, and the grand duke or prince dismounts, and taking a long knife, thrusts it through the heart of the animal. The late king of Naples, Ferdinand IV. was exceedingly fond of hunting the wild boar, but very unwilling to expose himself to danger. That he might enjoy this sport with the greatest security, he had a tower erected in the midst of his garden at Caserta, where he stationed himself. His huntsman drove the animal near the tower, from whence the king shot it at his leisure. In France, this has always been a favourite amusement of the monarchs. Louis XV. was so attached to it, according to Madam Campan, that when he did not go to the chase, his courtiers were accustomed to say, "the king does nothing to day." Charles X. is equally fond of it, passing most of his time in this manner when the weather

will permit. His gamekeepers form a large circle, gradually approaching towards the centre, until the animals are collected within a very small compass. The king then discharges upon them a succession of fowling pieces, which are immediately reloaded by his attendants. One ignorant of this mode of hunting, would consider him unrivalled in skill, when reading in the daily journals, of his killing fifty and even seventy animals in a day. As little of a huntsman as I am, I should pride myself more upon shooting one wild duck flying, than in destroying hundreds of animals in this manner. How ignoble is this mode of hunting in comparison with that adopted by the ancestors of the present monarchs of Europe, a few centuries ago! They were always foremost in pursuing the wild boar, and the first to pierce his side. How mean would such a cowardly mode of destroying a noble animal have appeared to an old Mohawk warrior!

No hunting is allowed in this country during the spring and summer, while the animals are nourishing their young; and rarely before the middle of October, as the crops which have not been previously collected, would be too much injured by the trampling of horses. As soon as the season arrives, you may ride any where within the region prescribed by your purchase, without asking permission of any individual whose grounds you traverse. As far as the hunt is concerned, it rarely belongs to him; and is never considered his property, unless he has previously purchased the right. Hunting, in Europe is a much more agreeable amusement than in our country, as a fence or hedge very seldom appears, to interrupt you while pursuing the game. I have never seen either in Prussia; and probably very few if any, exist. There are a few hedges in Modena, in Parma, and in Normandy; but they are so seldom seen, and when met with are so low, as to form a very slight impediment to the progress of the rider. The grounds being all open, he can easily follow the animal in every direction, rarely if ever meeting with an obstacle, until he reaches the boundary to which his privilege extends. If the game is fortunate enough to pass the boundary, it is safe, unless some other hunting party, within whose territory it has fled, should give chase, when its destruction is almost certain.

The privilege of the chase or hunt is of two kinds: the *Hochjagd*, and that of the common hunt. The former includes the right of killing all large animals, such as the badger, the wild boar, the roe, wolf, lynx, hare, &c. and several species of birds, amongst which is the pheasant: this is often pursued on horseback, and is considered much the most noble amusement. The latter confers the right of killing those birds and animals which do not belong to the *Hochjagd*. The price which is paid for this privilege, is in proportion to the extent of the ground, and to the abundance of game. The *Hochjagd* is much more expensive than the other. If the circuit in the bounds of which the right of hunting is purchased, is a number of leagues in extent, the price is from twenty to fifty dollars a year; but a much larger sum than this is paid when the exclusive privilege of hunting within these limits is purchased. No stranger, even when invited by a friend to join him, has the right of drawing his fowling piece upon a single animal; but must content himself with his exercise, and with observing the dexterity of his companion. In a country so extensive as Prussia, you will thus perceive, that this right forms no contemptible addition to the income of those of the nobility, whose grounds are extensive; and the right of disposing of the hunt for one-third of the kingdom, makes no small item in the revenue of the monarch.

Another of the royal rights is the privilege of taking fish in all the harbours of the kingdom. It is disposed of in the same manner as the hunt; and although less lucrative, it amounts to a very considerable sum. By this monopoly, the price of fish is very much increased; and the resources of the poor who live on the coast, and who generally subsist to a considerable extent upon this species of food, are proportionably diminished.

The Orphan Asylum of this city, owes its origin to the unwearied efforts and philanthropy of the celebrated Franke. He published, about a century since, a minute account of the rise and progress of this institution; an account which exhibits in a most extraordinary manner the influence of effort and unwearied resolution, in erecting one of the noblest establishments which has ever benefited mankind. As it was the custom in Halle for the benevolent to distribute their alms to the poor on a particular day,

Franke when chosen pastor of Glaucha, one of the suburbs of that city, desired the poor every Thursday to come to his house, to receive temporal assistance and religious instruction. As the number of applicants increased beyond his means of relieving them, he placed a charity box in his house, to receive the contributions of those who were friendly to this object. Some unknown person having given four or five dollars, Franke relates that he said to himself "this is a considerable sum, I will apply it to the foundation of a charity school." Nearly half of this he expended in purchasing books; but of the twenty-seven given to the children, only four were returned; the others being kept or disposed of. As he found many of the children but little benefited by their instruction, the impressions made upon their minds while in school, being obliterated when absent, he formed the plan of selecting some of them, and placing them in a separate edifice, where they might be educated and maintained apart from the world. This was the foundation of the celebrated orphan school of Halle, which for extent, the number of its pupils, and the influence it has exerted in the world, is without a parallel in the history of Prussia. Several persons having afterwards given him 1400 rix dollars to promote this object, a small house was purchased, where twelve orphans were placed, under the direction of one of the theological students.

As the number of applicants increased, he resolved to build a house for their reception, with the firm belief that God would bless him in his exertions. The edifice was commenced in 1698, and nearly finished in one year. The difficulties he experienced in the erection of this hospital, were such as would have discouraged any one but Franke. Many of these he mentions, but he went on with his work, relying on the providence of God, to which, he says, our care for a future supply was faithfully committed. In his greatest depression, he always found unexpected relief, his prayer often being answered on the very day, and sometimes the very hour, that it had been uttered. In one instance he relates, that the resources of the establishment were so nearly exhausted, that he knew not where to find the means necessary for supporting it another week. In this dilemma, a person sent him, anonymously, one thousand crowns. On another occasion, when no means

were left of supplying the table for another day, he found, he says, one comfort, a presence of mind in prayer, with a confident dependence on the Lord, "who hears the ravens when they cry." Just as he had finished his supplication, an acquaintance presented him with a letter and a small package, containing fifty crowns. In February, 1699, when all his means were exhausted, and the poor orphans were crying to him for bread, he reflected upon that passage of Scripture, "seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." As he gave his last coin, he said in his thoughts, "look, look upon my necessity." Leaving his study, to repair to his lecture-room, he found a student in his house, who handed him seventy crowns, sent by some distant persons. On another occasion, when in similar need, he says he found himself deeply affected with the fourth petition of our Lord's prayer, "give us this day our daily bread." His thoughts, he observes, rested particularly on the words "*this day*," for we greatly wanted it. While he was praying, a friend brought him four hundred crowns. In his account of the origin and progress of this establishment, Franke relates many other cases of relief, equally remarkable with those just specified.

Though this institution was originally designed for orphans, the poor, the lame, and those who had been very unfortunate, were received there. Religious instruction was given to them for several hours each day. The poor theological students of the university were here provided with a table, and a part of their time was employed in giving instruction to the poor. In 1714, the number of persons supported at this institution, amounted to four hundred and sixty. With this establishment were united a great number of schools for the instruction of the poor of the city, as well as a Latin school, and a library. The most important part of it however, was the printing establishment. Of the origin of this, professor Franke gives a very minute account, of which the following is the substance. In 1710, Charles Hildebrand, baron of Canstein, proposed to Franke, that a sufficient number of types should be cast, to correspond with each letter of the Bible, and that being arranged, they should be preserved in that form. This plan, which probably gave the first hint towards the subsequent

discovery of stereotyping, was carried into execution two years after, and the New Testament was published. Subsequently, the whole Bible appeared, and both were sold at so moderate a price, as to be within the reach of most of the lower classes of society. This part of the printing establishment continued active, long after the death of professor Franke, which took place in 1727. In about a century from its foundation, more than *two millions of Bibles, and one million copies of the New Testament* had been printed and sold at this institution. Soon after the commencement of the Tranquebar mission, a fount of Malabar types was procured, and parts of the Bible were printed in that language. One of the theological students, who had learned the art of printing in this institution, accompanied by a printer of Leipzig, soon sailed for Tranquebar, to join the celebrated missionary, Ziegenbalgh, and in a short time after their arrival, the New Testament appeared in the language of southern Hindostan. Classical works, and several others in the Russian and other languages, subsequently appeared from the press of the orphan house.

This building is in the form of three sides of a parallelogram, two of which are more than eight hundred feet in length. There are now about one hundred orphans here, who are supported from the funds of the institution, and from the yearly donation of the king of Prussia. The press is very active, and still prints standard works, particularly those used in the schools, at a very moderate price. How much does such a character as that of Franke, rise above those who are usually admired! With what serenity must he have looked back upon his life, and with how much truth could he have said, I have finished my course with joy!

LETTER XVII.

HALLE, 1826.

I PROMISED you some time since, an account of the present state of religion in the Protestant church of Germany. The difficulties attending its preparation are so great, that I have often almost resolved to omit it entirely. For at the outset of his labours, the traveller finds but few publications from which he can derive any satisfactory information. The Germans themselves also have a very imperfect knowledge of the subject, or are unwilling to communicate it to others. Germany is divided into thirty-five distinct governments, besides the four free cities, and these divisions add not a little to his embarrassment. In those divisions also, in which the Catholic religion predominates, it is next to an impossibility for a stranger to gain much definite information, respecting the state of Protestantism. In this letter I shall confine myself principally to the churches of Prussia.

In Prussia there are but five sects; the Jews, the Mennonites, the Catholics, the Reformers, or those who belong to the Reformed church, and the Lutherans. In 1817, there were 127,345 Jews, in 1822, nearly 150,000. In the former year, there were 15,333 Mennonites, in the latter not quite fifteen thousand. The Catholics in 1817 amounted to 4,023,513, and in 1822, to 4,422,873. The Protestants, in 1817, exclusive of the Mennonites, were 6,370,380, and in the last mentioned period they had increased to almost 7,100,000. At the time of my leaving Berlin, the census for 1825 had not been published. The accounts which have been given you of the census of Prussia for that year, were written down from the lectures of the professor of statistics, in the Berlin university; but as I was not present when he gave a numerical statement of the sects of this country, I can only refer you to a comparison of their proportional increase, from 1817 to 1822, to

form a pretty accurate idea of their numbers the last year, when the whole population amounted to 12,003,810 inhabitants. During my residence in Prussia, I made unwearied efforts to gain accurate information on this subject, but my success was not answerable to my anticipations. My information is principally derived from conversations with the clergy, and the professors of the universities.

The Jews here are almost exclusively Rabbinnical in their creed. Most of them reside in Prussia Poland, though they are to be found in small numbers in all the large towns. Those living in the metropolis are more intelligent, and less intolerant than most of the Israelites of the present day.

The Mennonites form a distinct sect in most of the German states. They are the followers of Simon Menno, who was born in Friesland in 1505, and died in 1581. At the age of thirty-one, he renounced the Catholic religion, and soon after travelled through Holland, Germany, and Russia. In these countries he assembled the Anabaptists, forming them into congregations. He introduced a severe discipline into his churches, and by his talents and example, soon acquired many followers. They still exist in considerable numbers in Holland, Switzerland, and Russia. In the former country there were in 1823, 85,000, in the latter, 6000. In Germany they are much less numerous than formerly.

The Mennonites esteem it unlawful to take an oath, either of allegiance, or in the courts of justice. They refuse to fight for the defence of the country, and reject infant baptism, but baptize all who have arrived at adult years. Previous to the administration of this ordinance, they are not permitted to come to the sacrament, but afterwards they are allowed to partake of it; as baptism is also a substitute for confirmation. Most of them perform this ceremony by sprinkling, though a small minority insist upon three immersions. The Mennonites are not unanimous in their opinions, some being much more strict than others in their creed and discipline. For vicious conduct, they excommunicate any one of their members. Those who practise immersion, allow no other baptism to be valid; and if a Mennonite, who has been sprinkled, wishes to unite with them, he must be immersed before they will receive him. There are several congregations of this sect in Danzig, and in the vicinity of that city; who, with the Mennonites

of Switzerland and Flanders, belong to the strictest class. They carry their bigotry to such a degree, as to excommunicate any one of their members who is married to one who is not of their sect. Formerly they wore a particular dress, though at the present time few of them retain this outward mark of sectarianism. In Switzerland, particularly on the Jura mountains, there are a few congregations who esteem it unlawful to wear buttons on their clothes, fastening their coats with hooks and eyes as a substitute. They are called Hefter, from the German word *Heften*, to fasten. These individuals, with a few of the Mennonites of Prussia, still believe it unlawful to shave, wearing their beards as long as those of the French drum-majors. The Mennonites universally condemn luxury in furniture and dress; and those who live in Danzig and its vicinity, formerly excommunicated all those who had their pictures taken. This latter article of their creed, however, was expunged some years since.

The majority of the Mennonites live in the villages, and there are no congregations in the towns, except in Danzig, and in one or two other cities. Among these some have acquired considerable fortunes; and of this class a few, from their comparative liberality towards other sects and from their superior style of living, are regarded as unbelievers by their brethren. They are not thought by other sects to be distinguished for their piety; not that they are very often openly immoral, but they are represented as being much more desirous of laying up for themselves earthly treasures, than those which will never fade. As a sect, they are industrious and wealthy. They were visited a few years since by a Mr. Bott and Mr. Ancas, who were sent out by a society in England, to examine their churches. Since that time, they have united themselves with the Baptist missionary society of England, and have placed their contributions, as I have been informed, at the disposal of that body. You will observe by their relative numbers in 1817 and 1822, that they have decreased a few hundreds, and the cause of this decrease was the severe fines they have been compelled to pay, for not performing military service. The laws of Prussia require every man to serve three years in the army. The government fearing, if this sect were to be exempted on account of their creed, that not a small number of the young Prussians might join them to avoid this

odious service, passed a law soon after the battle of Waterloo, that every one who refused to enter the army, should pay a very heavy penalty. Some of our own citizens would undoubtedly, like many of the Germans, regard this law as an outrage upon the rights of conscience and the purse. As the existence of Prussia, as a kingdom, depends on her army, the government find no difficulty in justifying this coercive measure.

The Catholics reside principally in the Rhine provinces, in Silesia, and in Prussian Poland. In common with all other sects, they enjoy the same rights as the Lutherans. There are two Archbishops, at Cologne and Posen, who stand at the head of this church; the former directing its concerns in that part of Prussia which borders the Rhine, and the latter in Silesia and Prussian Poland. They are, however, subjected to the supervision of the Minister of ecclesiastical affairs; but the limits of his authority are prescribed by the treaty made a few years since between the Prussian government and the Pope. Monachism still exists in this country. Most of the convents (of which there are sixty-nine for monks, and twenty-one for nuns,) are in Silesia, in Prussian Poland, or near the Rhine. As a body, the Catholics are much more enlightened than their brethren in southern Germany.

The Reformed church is less flourishing than it was a century since. In 1817, there were less than three hundred thousand persons belonging to it, and since that period they have considerably diminished. During that year, Frederick William made an effort to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Prussia; and gave to the new body the name of the *Evangelical church.* Many individual churches of each sect have been thus united, but what proportion I have found it impossible to ascertain. Others have partially enrolled themselves under the banners of the Evangelical church, and congregations have been then separated into two parts. Where these churches have thus been divided, as many have been, in the province of East Prussia, and if I mistake not in one or two other provinces, those remnants of the Reformed congregations which are unable to maintain a clergyman, are visited occasionally by preachers of their own denomination, who perform divine service and administer the sacrament.

The approved books of this church are the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Decision of the Synod of Dortrecht. The dress of the clergy, the rules respecting ordination, confirmation, baptism and festivals, are the same as in the Lutheran. The service differs from that of the latter in minutiae only. In one of them, when repeating the Lord's prayer, they say, "*Vater unser*"—Father of us; and also, "*erlöse uns von dem Uebel*," deliver us from evil, or the evil: in the other, "*Unser Vater*," our Father; and "*erlöse uns von dem Bösen*," deliver us from the evil one, or the Devil. The Lutheran clergy use wafers in administering the Sacrament, while the reformed reject them, making use of bread. The Evangelical church has endeavoured to unite the two modes by introducing long wafers, which they break.

Predestination, as taught by Calvin, was formerly believed extensively by the clergy and laity of the Reformed church, and by the Lutherans to some extent. To prevent this heresy, as the latter sect esteemed it, from gaining ground, the theological professors of Leipzig and Jena during the latter half of the 16th century, prepared a work entitled *Formula Concordiae*, which was afterwards adopted as one of the approved books of the Lutheran church. This has not however entirely succeeded in eradicating this "heresy" from either church. This doctrine is still believed and preached by the clergy of Elberfield, and by some of those residing in the province of Kleve Berg on the Rhine. In the Reformed church, however, it is now much less generally received than formerly, the number who believe it, being relatively but little greater than in the Lutheran.

In the Lutheran church it is the custom for parents to make a present to the clergyman, who officiates at the confirmation of their children, but in the Reformed, this is never done. In almost all the churches of the former sect, a picture is placed over the altar, delineating some one of the great events of our Saviour's life, or of one of the Apostles. A crucifix, with two wax candles, is also placed on the altar of every church. These ornaments have not been admitted into the Reformed churches, as they are regarded by them as remnants of the Catholic religion, for which they entertain very little respect. After the sermon and confession are ended, the clergyman of the Lutheran church sings a short prayer,

standing with his face to the altar, and his back to the congregation; the manner of singing being almost exactly the same, as in the Catholic mass at the Quirinal. All the congregation then sing, Amen, dwelling upon it nearly a minute. He then turns to the audience, and sings the benediction which Aaron pronounced when he blessed the children of Israel: "*The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace.*" The congregation then respond with an Amen, dwelling upon it as before. The first part of the Lutheran service is not admitted into the Reformed church. These differences are so small and so unimportant, that they would probably have been long since forgotten, had not a real obstacle existed, which most of the Reformed churches have regarded as insufferable: I here refer to the doctrine of Consubstantiation. The Augsburg confession admits this; while the Heidelberg catechism rejects it. This is the principal reason why the Reformed church has always refused to unite with the Lutheran, and this is the great obstacle in the minds of those who refuse to join the Evangelical church. In the Lutheran, there are very few who believe this doctrine at the present time, probably not one in a hundred. It remains, however, a part of their authorized catechism and creed; and until it is expunged, many of the Reformers, as they are called, will be very unwilling to unite with them. There is something, also, in the word Reformed, which, from its import, as well as its antiquity when applied to their church, has a tendency to attach them strongly to their independent existence.

The Lutheran church is much the most numerous, and contains more than half of the population of the kingdom. I will now endeavour to present you as accurate a picture of it as I can draw, under the following outlines, although it is far from being as satisfactory as could be wished:

1. Confirmation. Every child must be confirmed. At thirteen years of age, he is sent by his parents to the clergyman of the parish to which he belongs, to inform him that he is old enough to receive religious instruction preparatory to confirmation. As soon as the class of children immediately preceding have been confirmed, all those who have reached the age of thirteen

years, are required to repair, once a week, to the house of their pastor, to receive from him that instruction in the great doctrines of their church, which is indispensible to admission within its pale. They are thus taught two hours every week during the year, excepting the six weeks previous to their confirmation, when they are instructed four hours weekly. No one is permitted to partake of the sacrament, who has not passed a year in this preparatory course. To communicate theological knowledge in this manner, is as much the duty of a Lutheran clergyman, as preaching or baptism. It is given gratuitously, and at the end of the year the children are examined, and if found to possess the necessary acquaintance with religious truth, a certificate is given them that they have passed through the course necessary to church membership, when they are publicly confirmed. It is illegal, however, to confirm them before fourteen* years of age, though in a few cases, from inattention of the parents, or from some other cause, they are not confirmed until fifteen or sixteen.

Confirmation usually, if not always, with the exception of Palm Sunday, takes place on a week day. The ceremony is similar, if I mistake not, in all the churches. The following description of it is drawn from a confirmation, at which I was present in Berlin. The candidates for this rite, first sing for about half an hour, when the clergyman makes a prayer. After the prayer is ended, he preaches a sermon, addressed particularly to the children, exhibiting the great blessings resulting to themselves and to the world, from the introduction of the Christian religion; the duties devolving upon them from this public avowal of their belief in Christianity, &c. They then approach in pairs, and kneel before him; when placing his hands on their heads, he blesses them, saying, "*May the Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace.*" After all of them have

* In Hanover, and I believe in some other German states, young girls, neither enter into society, nor curl their hair, until the day they are to be confirmed. To this day they look forward with as much interest, as does the students in one of our colleges, to the reception of his diploma, which is to be his passport into the busy scenes of life.

received this benediction, they enter the sacristy, and write their names in the church records, after which the clergyman gives them a certificate of confirmation, and on the succeeding Sabbath they partake of the sacrament.

II. Baptism. This ordinance is administered at any time the parents may desire, during the first six weeks after the birth of the child. This rite is usually performed in the churches, but occasionally in the houses of the parents. When administered in the church, the child is always presented by the nurse, the parents being rarely, if ever present, and although present, they are always represented by a godfather and godmother. When it takes place in the house of the parents, they are usually witnesses of the ceremony, but all promises respecting the child are made by sponsors. Baptism is usually administered on a week day; rarely, if ever, on the sabbath, unless at private houses. The clergyman supports the head of the child with his left hand, its body resting on his left arm; and the face of the infant being held downwards, the water is poured from a cup, or from the palm of the hand, on the back of the head. This is not, perhaps, the universal mode of performing the rite, but in every instance where I have been present, it has been administered in this manner. If one of the parents is a Protestant, and the other a Catholic, the sons are baptized by a clergyman of the same religious persuasion as the father, and the daughters by one of the church to which the mother belongs. No Jew can receive baptism, until after the consent of the consistory has been obtained, and this cannot be given, until from the police of the place where he resides, satisfactory evidence has been procured of his being a moral man, and a peaceable citizen. The administration of baptism is universal in the Lutheran church, as all parents are required by law to present their children within six weeks after their birth. The Lutherans, and those belonging to the Reformed church, consider this as the passport, and indeed, as the only one to the name of a Christian; and that without it, no one is worthy of receiving this appellation. In conversing a few days since, with one who was not distinguished for his theological researches, I informed him that some of the sects in our country, baptized only the children of those who had made a public profession of religion. He seemed much surprised, and said, "a large

number of your countrymen then must be Heathen.?' "Why so?" was my reply. "Because they have not been baptized," was the answer.

III. The Lord's Supper. This ordinance is administered to all those, who, after they have been confirmed, express a wish to partake of it. On such occasions it is necessary to go to the sacristy of the church one or two days before, and write your name. The sacrament is always administered immediately after the service is ended. When there are two clergymen, they both officiate standing on the sides of the altar, whither the communicants advance in pairs to the clergyman, who distributes the bread, and who salutes them as they approach. He then presents it to them saying; "This is the body which was broken for you, &c." They then proceed behind the altar to the other clergyman, who hands them the cup, and says before they partake of it; "This is the blood of the New Covenant, &c." The clergymen distribute the emblems alternately. After the males have all partaken, the females, having taken off their bonnets, then advance in pairs to the altar; and the ceremony in both cases is precisely the same. This mode is very slow, requiring several hours where the communicants are numerous; and is exceedingly inconvenient during the winter, as the churches in the cities of this country, like those of France and Italy, have usually stone pavements, instead of floors. During the whole ceremony the choir of the church sing, making a small pause while the preacher is addressing the communicants. Each one, after leaving the altar to go into the church, drops a piece of money into a box, which is placed there to receive their contributions. There is something so terrestrial in the effect produced by the jingling which strikes upon your ear during the address of the clergyman, that the solemnity of this ordinance is not a little diminished. In all the Lutheran churches where I have been present, you see five or six men during the time the congregation are singing, busily engaged in moving long poles with satin bags attached to them, over the heads and between the bodies of the worshippers; while the rat-

* I use the word church here in opposition to the altar, which is separated from the body of the church by a railing, like the altar of the tribune in Catholic cathedrals.

tling of *groschen* reminds you of your banker, quite as much as of the house of God. This perhaps is fastidiousness on my part; but be this as it may, there are few sounds which affect my ear more unpleasantly.

Many of the Lutherans partake of the sacrament several times a year; some only once; and others very rarely, perhaps never, during life, after their confirmation. It is administered every Sunday, if any persons have previously written their names on a paper kept in the sacristy, expressing a desire to receive it. There are many sabbaths, however, when no such wish having been expressed, this ordinance is not celebrated. You will observe from this statement, that the word church has an entirely different signification with the Lutherans, from that which is given to it by most of the denominations of our country. The church here means every one who believes in the Lutheran creed; or, in other words, who has been confirmed by a Lutheran clergyman. To be confirmed, it is only necessary to understand theoretically, the most important doctrines contained in the approved books of faith and discipline, and to be acquainted with the Bible. Though the Lutheran church admits the doctrine of regeneration, this change is not considered necessary to confirmation. Many clergymen, in their religious instructions to the children previous to the celebration of this rite, explain to them without doubt the duties that will devolve upon them by the subsequent avowal of their belief in Christ, as the Saviour of the world; but at so early an age, it is almost impossible for the child, however faithful the teacher may be, to form an adequate idea of the nature of that covenant which he makes with his Redeemer. It is probably owing to this, that so many persons entirely neglect the sacrament during most of their lives, especially as confirmation is considered by most of them as tantamount to discipleship. This preparatory course of instruction is indeed an admirable regulation, and might be introduced into all our American churches with the happiest results. It is received, however, at too early an age in the Lutheran church; for no child of fourteen is capable of deriving half the benefit which he would probably receive when at the age of eighteen or twenty. In the one case he is the mere recipient of certain doctrines that are merely impressed upon his memory; in the other

he acquires, to say the least, an intellectual view of the great truths of religion, and is often prompted by the interest they excite to make investigations for himself. As it is practised here, a hereditary belief is all that is acquired; and with the reception of confirmation, while every one considers himself as belonging to the church of Christ, he rarely reflects afterwards upon the danger of coming unworthily to the communion table.

As there is no visible church, there are at the same time no church meetings for prayer; and no opportunities are presented to that body for making a united effort in the cause of religion. No one ascertains, unless by accident, that there are others whose sentiments on this subject may correspond with his own. If there is an unusual interest felt on the subject of religion, it is not the result of effort; and then there is no rallying point where they may meet to promote it. The mode of living in Europe renders this still more difficult. The houses on the continent are several times as large as those in the United States; and rarely does a single family occupy more than one story, and often only a part of one. They live within themselves to such a degree, as for years to be ignorant of the occupation, and often of the names, of those dwelling under the same roof. No one asks what his neighbour is doing; and unless the latter possesses more than usual curiosity, he reciprocates this politeness with equal indifference. An American can form no idea of this retirement. I have lived for months in many of the cities of Europe, without even knowing the face of an individual inhabiting the same building, except those of the family of whom my rooms were hired, and of the porter. From this comparative retirement, two persons equally interested in the subject of religion, may inhabit the same mansion for years, and continue perfect strangers; and should a few individuals residing in the same or in different houses meet regularly for private prayer, they may be entirely ignorant that any similar assembly exists in the city. As they have no visible church, they have no regular accounts of the state of religion throughout the kingdom. The government receives, without doubt, annual reports of the number of children confirmed; but these I believe are never published, as I have never heard of them; and were these made known, they would furnish the only means of forming an idea of the state of

religion. "What is the present state of the Lutheran church;" has been asked by me perhaps fifty times. "We have no means of ascertaining," was the universal answer.

IV. Discipline. As all belong to the church by confirmation, it is impossible, at the present time, for the clergymen who are desirous of introducing discipline, to persuade the people to consent to it. Were the majority of the nation to desire it, the consent of the government must first be procured, for by them all laws are enacted relating to religion. Prussia has so long enjoyed the greatest latitude of creed, that the monarch would find it almost impossible to carry such a law into execution. In the beginning of the last century, there was a severe discipline in both the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Frederick William I. then published a law, that all persons guilty of theft, adultery, fornication, blasphemy, profanity, &c. should make a public confession. The offender was required to go to the house of the clergyman, and confess his sin, and then follow him to the church. After the sermon and prayer were ended, the preacher addressed the congregation in these words: "Beloved brethren, there is now standing before you an individual named N. N., who has committed the grievous sin of ———, and because this offence is burdensome to you, we will supplicate the Father of mercies for this fallen sinner." He then asked the following questions, which the offender was required to answer standing.

1st. I ask thee N. N., whether thou hast broken the ——— command, and hast offended the weak, and troubled the contrite? Answer. Yes.

2d. Art thou sorrowful on account of this sin, and wilt thou be reconciled again with the Almighty God? Answer. Yes.

3d. Art thou convinced that the all-merciful God, sent Jesus Christ into the world, to seek those who are lost, and receivest thou the grace and the life which he has acquired with a believing heart? Answer. Yes.

4th. Hast thou resolved in earnest to mend thy wicked life? Answer. Yes.

The preacher then said, "May the eternally gracious God, who has no pleasure in the death of the sinner, be gracious and merciful unto thee, and forgive thy sin." He then declared that he was received again as a member of that church.

Frederick the great in the year 1746, entirely abolished public confessions; assigning as a reason, that it rather embittered than improved the heart of the individual, besides giving rise to scandal, and to other evils that were still greater. As a substitute he ordered that when any such offence had been committed, the clergyman should take one of his brethren with him, go to the house of the individual, and without making it known, should warn him in private, and exhort him to lead a better life. The confession thus made, the clergyman was required to keep secret. If he divulged it, his place was forfeited. Since that period, there has not been a public confession in the Lutheran church of Prussia. A few of the clergy still lament that the law enacted by Frederick William I. has been abolished; the great majority of them, however, think this statute much too severe. A few, with whom I have conversed, are very desirous of seeing confirmation abolished, and their church placed, as to membership, on the same footing with the Presbyterian in our country. Most of them, however, are very much opposed to such an alteration, and say, that "as God knows who are his people, this is not necessary." Public confessions have not only ceased in the Lutheran and Reformed churches in Prussia, but also throughout all the German states. An instance occurred in Würtemberg about forty years ago. Since that time there has not been a single instance of public confession in either of these churches in Germany. In a church like the Lutheran, where children are confirmed at fourteen years of age, and that too from the influence of custom and of law, such a regulation as the public confession enacted by Frederick William I. is excessively severe. Many of the large cities are now so corrupt, that were this law to be revived, and to become universal in its application, the clergy would find not a small part of their time employed in attending to its enforcement.

V. Festivals. In the Lutheran church there are many festivals, though few in comparison with those in the Catholic. The three greatest are *Oestern*, or Easter, *Weinacht*, or Christmas, and *Pfingsten*, or Whitsuntide. Each of these lasts two days. During these, as well as the other festival days, divine service is performed in the churches, to which about one-tenth part of the population resort. The shops are closed while the churches are open, but can be opened during the rest of the day. The other festivals are,

Charfreitag, or good Friday.

Busstag, a day for fasting and prayer. This has been declared by the government to be one of the great festivals of the church. Balls and other amusements, which were previously allowed, are forbidden. On this day the moral law is preached, particularly in its reference to Christianity.

Todtenfeiertag. This festival has been established within a few years, to keep alive the recollection of their deliverance from bondage, as well as the memories of those who perished in breaking the yoke of Napoleon. In every church in Prussia, the names of those who died in this struggle are painted in large letters on tablets, which are suspended against the walls. As the fourth of July* was the day of the second capitulation of Paris, the king has ordered, that this festival shall be held at that time, and be ushered in by the ringing of bells. The altars of the churches are then dressed in black, and the children of all the schools are required to go in procession to the church, singing a hymn. The clergymen are ordered to preach from the 1st of Maccabees, 9-10 making allusion to those who fell in that holy contest in such a manner, as to awaken patriotic feelings in the hearts of their auditors.

Himmelsfahrtsfest, or the Ascension day. This, by a royal order, dated 1789, is declared to be one of the great festivals.

There is also a festival which is held on the Sabbath, soon after the harvest has been gathered. This corresponds with the Thanksgiving day of the New England states.

Palm Sunday is also observed. The children are not unfrequently confirmed at this time.

Busstag is another of their festivals. On this day the sacrament is administered to great numbers.

If I mistake not, these are all the festivals in the Lutheran church of Prussia. In Saxony, however, there are many more, which are still observed in Saxon Prussia. There, and in Saxony, the four great festivals of Easter, Christmas, Busstag, and Whitsuntide, continue three days each. The first day is observed as a

* It is a singular coincidence, that the Prussians should celebrate their day of freedom, as they style it, on the same day that we commemorate the independence of our own country.

day of repentance, the second as a day of fasting, and the third as a day of prayer. All the Prussian festivals are observed in Saxony, excepting the *Todtenfeiertag*. Besides there are

Grün Donnerstag, established in commemoration of the day when our Saviour instituted the ordinance of the supper. This in Prussia is not considered as one of the legal festivals, though divine service is performed, and the sacrament is administered.

Johannistag. This festival was established in honour of John the Baptist.

Mariaverkündigungstag, or Annunciation's day.

Mariaempfängnisstag, or Conception day.

Die Heiligendreikönigetag, the three holy King's day. This is in commemoration of the wise men of the east, who came to Bethlehem to see the Saviour who was to be born. How the Saxons learned that there were but three, and that they were monarchs, I am ignorant. The three last mentioned festivals are also observed in the Catholic church.

Michaelis, or Michaelmas, is extensively observed.

There are two other festivals observed in Saxony, and all include more than twenty days in the year. Though there are many more days of this character observed in the Catholic church of Spain, and in some parts of Italy, the number in Bavaria will not greatly exceed this. It is a singular fact, that the Catholic church in Saxony has not not so many religious festivals as the Lutheran. This, it is believed, is the only example in the history of Protestantism. The festivals of the Lutheran church of Germany exert an auspicious influence, so far as they draw the inhabitants to public worship, but the impressions there made are counteracted by the amusements which always succeed them when the weather is pleasant. In the cities, only a small part of the inhabitants observe them in a religious manner; in the villages, the proportion is greater. The time thus lost in Saxony, is three-fourths of a month. Were these days passed industriously, there would be a great difference in the temporal prosperity of the people. I say lost, because to a great extent they are mere days of amusement, because also a religious festival which is not observed, almost invariably exerts an influence unfriendly to morality. But, although Protestant Germany has gone to one

extreme, in some of the churches of the United States we have vibrated to the other, in our total neglect of these days. Our Puritanical ancestors, under the influence of persecution, concluded that every thing which belonged to the English church was of course defective, and accordingly abolished every festival. They shunned Charybdis, and struck against Scylla. We celebrate the anniversary of that day when we declared ourselves free from the yoke of Britain, with bells, and cannon, and songs, while that day, which gave moral liberty to mankind, is by many sects forgotten. We carouse on the birth-day of our great political liberator; but how many congregations are there, which never assemble to commemorate the natal day of Him, who broke the fetters of death, and rose triumphant over the grave. What, if we cannot ascertain the day with certainty; should it be for this reason neglected? We should not adhere so closely to the letter, but endeavour to feel a little more of the spirit of thanksgiving for that atonement, which offers to us a deliverance from a bondage, infinitely more galling than all temporal slavery. The Lutheran gentlemen with whom I have conversed on this subject, could hardly believe me, when they were told, that even Christmas was not a festival in the congregation churches of our country. They seemed almost inclined to ask, why we called ourselves Christians.

VI. Government. All the branches of the Protestant church of Prussia, are under the direction of the Minister of Ecclesiastical affairs. In each of the ten departments there is a Consistory, composed of a number of clergymen and several of the laity. These bodies have powers nearly corresponding with those of the bishops in the Catholic church. They each consist of from seven to nine persons, besides the president, who is always appointed by the king. They choose new members to fill the vacancies which may occur, but the choice is null, unless approved of by the monarch. They meet several times a week, and receive their maintenance from the government, and always hold their sessions in the capitals of the provinces or departments. All questions relating to the internal concerns of the church, are here discussed, and the examination of theological candidates, as well as of the young men who are desirous of instructing in some of the higher schools, take place in presence of this body. Each province

of the kingdom is divided into an indefinite number of dioceses, depending very much upon its extent and population. Over each of these dioceses a superintendent is appointed, from those of the clergy who are distinguished for talents and learning. He is always chosen by the consistory, and has a special superintendence of the parishes and schools within his jurisdiction. He is much of the time on the wing, for he is required to examine all the schools, and hear all the clergymen preach who reside within the diocese. If either the clergy or instructers are deficient in their duty, he apprises the general superintendent, who informs the consistory in the annual report which he makes to that body. In Saxony he has also an oversight of the gymnasia. Each province has one general superintendent. In each of the small dioceses there is a synod, consisting of the clergy of that district, whose powers are very limited; since while they meet and converse like many other ecclesiastical bodies, they rarely do any thing more.

Each diocese has also an inspector, whose business it is to examine the churches, and make their reports to the consistory, from whom he receives his appointment. He has also an eye over the young theological candidates, observing their conduct, their mode of instructing, and preaching, as well as some other minor duties of which I am ignorant.

VII. The Clergy. The clergy of the Lutheran church of Prussia, are chosen in the following manner:

1. *By the King.* He has the right of disposing of about one-third of the parishes in the kingdom.

2. *By the Magistrates*, that is to say, by the corporations of the cities. In some of the large towns they have the disposal of most, if not all; in others, of only a part. They choose a clergyman to fill a vacancy, and after he has preached for a certain period, they ask the members of the congregation, if they have any objection to his being settled as their pastor, and if none are made, he is soon ordained. It is very rare that any such objections are made.

3. *By the Nobility.* They have the right of disposing of many of the village churches, which they derived in the following manner. The nobility in this country, formerly built many of the churches at their own expense, and in return, the government

gave them the privilege of placing those clergymen whom they should select, over these parishes. This right was made hereditary, and has continued among their descendants to the present time, where the estate has remained in the family, but where it has been disposed of, it has gone with the property to the purchaser.

4. The vacancies in a few of the parish churches are at the disposal of the consistories. Of the proportion I am ignorant.

5. Some of the congregations, the number, however, is very small, have the right of choosing their own clergyman. This permission they have received from the king, the nobles, or others, who have resigned it to them.

In vacancies which come under the first four classes, or in other words, all those places which are disposed of by patronage, a clergyman soon after he is invited to officiate, must preach a *Probepredigt*, or a sermon of trial, before the parish. If he belongs to the same consistorial department as the congregation, the latter must decide within eight days; if to another, within four weeks, whether they are willing to receive him as their future pastor. If they answer in the negative, the question is referred to the consistory, who decide between them and the patron.

The evil effects resulting from this system of patronage are very great. Few of the parishes can ever choose a clergyman after their own heart. A single individual, the patron, will always have his favourite, who may not unfrequently be a very unacceptable spiritual guide to the congregation. When this is the case, all hopes of usefulness are mostly at an end. Clergymen, also, who hold their places, as in Prussia until death, misconduct, or voluntary removal separates them from their people, will in most instances be much less faithful in discharging their duties, than when they hold them at the will of their parishioners. The evils resulting from this system are however much smaller than those that we see in England. Here are no non-resident clergymen, who pocket their five hundred or two thousand pounds a year, with the exception of the paltry pittance which they give to the poor curate. Such an evil cannot exist, for there is not a clergyman in Prussia who receives two thousand dollars per annum. Were these places several times as valuable as they now are, we should undoubtedly see similar results, unless the government should interfere and prevent

them. Where a clergyman is not acceptable to his people, little or no attachment to him can exist, and of course little will be done to promote the spiritual welfare of his flock. Noblemen in most countries, are very apt to believe, that the poor peasantry who are so far beneath them, are incapable of forming a correct opinion of the proper qualifications of a pastor. In Prussia, I am convinced that very few could be found, who would be willing to relinquish their wishes to those of the peasants, whom they are accustomed to despise.

The clergy of Prussia are not as in France, and some other countries, supported by the government, but they derive their incomes from the following sources.

In the towns, there is usually a fund belonging to each parish, from which they receive a part of their salaries. In the villages, there is very rarely a fund, but there are almost always a parochial house and land, the latter of which is seldom less than thirty acres, and sometimes amounts to one hundred and twenty.

The following are the items of the income of a clergyman, residing in a town containing three thousand inhabitants. You may depend upon their accuracy, as they were written down at the time he communicated them to me. From this detail you can form an idea of the manner in which they are supported, as well as of the amount they usually receive, for this may probably be considered as the average amount of income of most clergymen who live in towns of about the same population. From the fund 133 Prussian dollars, donations 30, marriages, funerals and baptisms 80, wood, and publication of marriages, the latter of which take place as with us, immediately after the service is ended, 80 dollars, and from confession money *Beichtgeld*, from two to three hundred dollars. It is the custom in the Lutheran church, a short time before the service is ended, for the preacher to say something like the following. "All those of you, who with penitent hearts do freely confess your sins, relying on the atoning blood of Christ to purify you, I hereby declare free from your iniquity." These are not the words, but if my memory does not deceive me, they contain their import. In many of the churches it is the custom for some of the congregation to remain, and afterwards to make a confession to the clergyman, or at least converse with him on the subject of religion

as applicable to themselves; in which they allude to their past conduct, and at times even reveal it in such a manner, that he is not left in much doubt as to its nature. Others go to the house of their pastor, where they converse with him on these subjects. These confessions are usually very general, though in a few instances secrets are revealed with but little more reserve, than in the Catholic church. There is this difference, however, that in the former such revelations are voluntary, but in the latter compulsory, as the priest will never absolve them until they have divulged every thing. Those which are general in their nature, may possibly be attended with no evil consequences; but those which are particular, can not be productive of much good, either to the speaker or listener. For hearing these confessions, and for the advice and admonition which are then given them, they present the pastor with a sum of money to which they give the name of confession money. This, however, is entirely voluntary, as there is no law requiring it except that of custom. The clergyman who was just alluded to, would not receive this offering, as he was convinced that it would lessen his influence among his parishioners. After making many inquiries, I have never heard of a similar example of self-denial on the part of the Lutheran clergymen. The case specified was a noble exhibition of disinterestedness, as his whole salary, independently of the confession money, amounted to but three hundred and forty-three Prussian dollars and thirty bushels of grain. The Prussian dollar is nearly seventy-five cents.

In the villages, the clergy receive from two to five hundred dollars, including the produce or rent of their parochial land. Produce, and consequently rent, is very low at the present time. During the late war, the price of it was so high, that some of the village clergymen had incomes amounting to between one thousand and fifteen hundred dollars. In the cities, the salaries of the clergy are much greater than in the villages, but they are very small in comparison with those paid to them in our large towns. Few of the clergy of Berlin receive more than twelve hundred Prussian dollars, and some of them less than one thousand. The village pastors find it impossible to live in what we consider a respectable manner, or in one even indispensable to the character of the profession. From their comparative poverty, as well as

from their humble style of living, their influence on the higher classes is very limited, as they are thus prevented from coming in contact with them. Wealth and birth in Germany, perhaps more than in any other country, form the boundaries of society. Genius, when exhibited in any department of science or literature, is a passport to the houses of the nobility, and the popular writers of the day, are often admitted to these circles, especially when they possess that external polish so much prized in the fashionable world. Learned men, however, whose fame does not widely extend beyond their own professions, are rarely seen in any except literary circles. The intense application of this class, united with their want of grace and ease, so completely unfit them for the light fluttering conversation of high life, that these two classes form the opposite poles of German society. The insipidity of thought which flows from the one, is as offensive and disgusting to the *savant*, as are his manners to the butterflies who shine in the *soirée*. The professors and the other literati, for this reason, form a distinct class, and rarely associate with the rich or the fashionable. Fortunately for them, they are sufficiently numerous in the large cities and the universities, to form a circle for themselves. Such a separation indeed exists to some extent in all countries, but it is more visible here than in any land I have seen. It is unfortunate for all nations, that such a line of demarcation exists, for, could these extremes be brought in contact, the frivolity of the fashionable world would cease to be its chief characteristic, and comparative grace would succeed that uncouthness of attitude and address, which is so often visible in literary men. In such a state of society you would at once conclude that the theological profession is rarely embraced by the wealthy. In Hanover, where there are probably fifteen hundred clergymen, there are but three of noble birth, notwithstanding the poor nobility would form a considerable army. In Prussia I have heard of but one who was a preacher, and he was designing soon to commence his course as a lecturer in the university of Berlin.

VIII. Theological Candidates. Every theological student who is desirous of obtaining a license to preach, must procure certificates from the university where he was educated, that he has attended the necessary lectures for three years; and if some time

has elapsed since he left the institution, he must present one also from the superintendent or from the inspector of the diocese where he has been residing since that period. These he presents to the consistory, and by that body he is examined in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, grammatically and exegetically, in church history, dogmatical theology, &c. &c. Some weeks before his examination commences, he receives a text from the consistory, which he must take as the subject of a sermon, to be preached before them. One or more dogmatical and exegetical treatises he is required to read at this time. If he is found upon examination intellectually qualified, he receives a license to preach. Formerly it was necessary for him to state his belief in the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, but this affirmation is not now required. In some of the German states, the candidates promise, that they will never preach against any of the doctrines contained in the Augsburg Confession; but every one is left to form his own opinion as to the character of the Bible. The consistory could not with justice require a belief in Revelation, for not one in five of the members of those bodies in Germany believes in the inspiration of the Old Testament, and not a small number reject that of the New. If a student is not intellectually qualified, he is required to pursue his studies a year longer, if any hope is entertained that he will eventually be competent for his station; but if not, he is advised to abandon all thoughts of preaching, and to pursue some other employment. Cases of this kind not unfrequently occur, for the government of Prussia feel very desirous of elevating the intellectual character of this, as well as of the other professions. I have heard it stated, that there had been one or two instances recently in this country, where candidates were refused a license on account of their holding heretical opinions, but the truth of this assertion is doubtful, as the individual who informed me could give no satisfactory information on the subject. There is a law, if I mistake not, still in existence, requiring the consistory to see that the student embraces this profession from the dictates of conscience, and that he has proper religious impressions of its duties. As that body interpret for themselves, the want of belief in revelation is not considered as incompatible with the law. The great questions with the consistory are; Is his mind sufficiently enlightened? Is he capable of

discharging the duties incumbent upon a pastor? If the answer is affirmative, the cases are certainly very rare, where a want of faith would prove any obstacle to his receiving a license. By exhibiting this certificate, he is allowed to preach in any of the provinces of Prussia.

After a candidate has been licensed for a year, he then presents himself before the consistory, to be examined *pro Ministerio*, provided he has been invited to take the charge of a particular parish. He exhibits his previous certificates, and brings with him two sermons, one of which he pronounces before some, at least, of the members of that body. He is then examined in the German language, in Greek and Hebrew exegesis, in Latin, to ascertain whether he can speak and write it correctly, in the history of dogmatical theology, in ecclesiastical history, philosophy, theological literature, the mode of catechising children, in the composition and delivery of a sermon, &c. &c. If he exhibits a good knowledge of these subjects, he receives the certificate *pro Ministerio*, and can be immediately ordained. This second examination is very similar to the first in relation to the subjects, but is much more severe. If he is settled within a year from this period, no other examination is necessary, but if more than a year elapses previous to his ordination, he is required to appear before the consistory a third time, and is then examined not on all subjects above mentioned, but principally on those which are exclusively theological. This is however rather a conversation, than examination.

Frederick William is said to be a great admirer of the English church, and he is believed by many of his subjects to be very desirous of remodelling the Lutheran on a plan similar to the established church of that country. In 1816, he appointed two Bishops. This the Prussians consider as the first step taken towards effecting this object. The individuals selected were Mr. Sack, one of the court preachers of Berlin, and Borowski, the general superintendent, of Königsberg, with the title of bishops of the evangelical church of Prussia. The reason assigned for their appointment was, the propriety of rewarding distinguished merit; and the monarch declares in his royal ordinance, that this appointment is made without any intention of changing the constitution of the church. The power of these bishops is not diocesan, neither

do they differ in any respect from other clergymen, except in the precedence which their titles give them, and also in a probable increase of their salaries. Since that time, two others have been appointed, whose titles are taken from the towns of Stettin and Magdeburg. The introduction of these Bishops into the church, circumscribed as was their power, excited little or no opposition; and, so far as I have had an opportunity of judging, neither the clergy, nor the laity, have any objections to seeing the number increased.

Since 1817, the king has been making efforts to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches. The means proposed to accomplish this objects, are: a renunciation of the names Lutheran and Reformed, with the substitution of that of Evangelical, and the introduction of a liturgy. A considerable number of churches, in various parts of the kingdom, have thus united, so far, at least, as to relinquish their old names, and assume that of Evangelical. Very few, however, are willing to receive the liturgy which has been prepared. Even in the metropolis, and directly under the eye of the monarch, there is but one church, excepting that of the court, which has received it; and in none of the other large towns, is the number greater. For the villages, a shorter liturgy, which is an abstract of the former, has been published, and this has been received by a few of the Reformed and Lutheran churches.

This attempt to introduce the liturgy, has met with great opposition throughout the country. Many pamphlets have been written on both sides: those writers, who are desirous of the royal favour, supporting it; while those, who have been distinguished for their unwavering firmness of character, have opposed it. Among the latter is Schleiermacher, who has published several pieces, which have not a little strengthened the opposition. By this step he has incurred the displeasure of Frederick, who was said to be indignant when he saw the effects of his pamphlets. Augusti, a professor of Bonn, and Ammon, the court preacher of Dresden, are the champions in favour of a liturgy; but they are considered by the great majority of the Prussians who interest themselves in this controversy, as having been vanquished. At the present time the opposition is apparently so strong, that the

monarch will probably be compelled to leave the work which he has commenced, to be finished by his successors. The Reformed church seems more willing than the Lutheran to abandon their old name; but very few even of the latter are willing to enrol themselves under the banners of the Evangelical church, if the liturgy must become their creed. As the questions are entirely separate, and as the union can be made though the liturgy may be rejected, it is probable that the king will succeed in the first of these measures, although his people will long resist the latter; and, unless force should be used, will certainly gain the victory at last. The power of the monarch is less here than elsewhere. The Protestants of Prussia have so long enjoyed the greatest latitude of opinion on the subject of religion, (for their books of doctrine and discipline are generally considered as the work of an age much less enlightened than the present,) that they now have an inveterate aversion to creeds. They would willingly unite, at least the majority of them, in a creed consisting of a single article, asserting the existence of God; and they would, perhaps, admit another, declaring that the morality of Jesus Christ was purer than that of any code of morals ever presented to man; but, to a creed containing only these articles, a few would certainly be found hostile. The modern school of Pantheists would oppose such a creed, from their own peculiar opinions respecting the nature of the Deity; and others would object to it, from the fear that its introduction would prepare the way for one embracing additional articles. As the books referred to are in reality nearly obsolete, throughout most, if not all of Germany, few persons are desirous that another should be substituted, preferring to live under an antiquated creed of many articles, than under any which is modern, if it consisted of more than two, unless expressed in the most general manner. This is the principal cause of the almost universal opposition to the liturgy. The power of the king has so long been absolute, that it is impossible to say what course he will take. He and his ancestors have always been in the habit of saying, "go, and come," and implicit obedience has followed the command. He is now to try the extent of his power on another theatre, one which will test, in the fullest manner, how far he is completely despotic. It was currently reported, a short time before my departure from

Berlin, that he intended removing Schleirmacher from his professional chair; and, to my astonishment, I heard the Prussians say, "he dare not." The popularity of this preacher and scholar was so universal, both in the city and the university, as well as with most men of thought throughout Germany, that, in fact, even Frederick William "did not dare" take such a step. Whether his subjects were correct or not in their resistance to the liturgy, every one must judge for himself. The opinion which he will form, will probably depend on the fact, whether he inherits the sentiments of his fathers; or, whether following the directions of Christ, to call no man master, he forms his theological opinions for himself, without any reference to those who surround him.*

Since the date of this letter, I have seen it stated in one of the Paris papers, probably the *Journal des Debats*, in a letter dated at Hamburg, in January or February 1827, that the king was resolved to proceed to extremities. This writer states that the Prussian government had recently passed a law, forbidding any consistory to license a theological student, unless he would previously promise, that, as soon as he was settled, he would do all in his power to introduce the liturgy into his parish. This is taking the most effectual way to make it universal. The young theologians are almost all so poor, that they find it very difficult to support themselves while acquiring their education; and when they are prepared to receive the charge of their flocks, many of them are almost pennyless. Between a liturgy and beggary, few minds are independent enough to waver; and conscience is often too easily stifled by the loud cry of necessity. By this statute the number of clergy in favour of the liturgy will soon be made to form a majority, as every vacancy will be filled by those who approve of it, or whose acquiescence is extorted. Should the present monarch reach the age of Frederick the Great, he will probably have the pleasure of seeing this great work accomplished. With the army on his side,

* The liturgy which the King is trying to introduce into the churches of Prussia, is orthodox in the main, and is one to which I could not very strongly object. My objection is to the compulsory measures to which he resorts, and in this manner, forcing by his influence and power, many of his subjects to receive a liturgy in which they do not believe; in other words, filling the Lutheran church with hypocrites.

for a liturgy in a soldier's eyes is of much less importance than the length of his plume, or the size of his epaulette,—he will be able to gain his point, without any political opposition. He will, however, carry with him to his grave an unpopularity among the reflecting part of his subjects, as deep and as enduring as ever darkened the evening of a monarch's life. His unwillingness to give his subjects the freedom he promised them, has greatly lessened the love they once felt for him; but as they have never tasted the sweets of civil liberty, he has only withheld a blessing, which to them had always been ideal. The liberty of thought, however, they have enjoyed since the Reformation, more than any nation of Europe except Saxony. It was a freedom in which they gloried; one which awakened emotions of enthusiasm, when they contrasted their situation with that of southern Germany, and southern Europe.

You will easily realize from the statement I have here given, the nature and strength of the opposition of the Prussians to the liturgy, especially when you remember that the views which all men form on the subject of religion, hold a place in their affections much more profound, than those on political subjects. Our creeds whatever they may be, are dearer to us than all other objects. They strike their roots more profoundly into the hearts of men, than any thing besides. Here is a holy ground which we suffer no one to enter with impunity. Political storms soon subside; but every passion is excited when we are robbed of the liberty of thought, on the most interesting of all subjects.

The political freedom of the United States is so great, and so distinctly seen and felt by every individual, that we rarely think of the great superiority of our religious liberty to that of every other country. Since my landing in Europe, this has daily appeared to me as beyond all comparison the most beautiful feature of our constitution. By a residence on the continent, an American becomes so disgusted with the union of religion and politics, in consequence of it being made the instrument of enslaving the mind, or of lessening civil liberty, that he could not see an established church introduced in his own country, without regarding it as the first step taken to undermine its freedom. A legislature has no right to fetter the conscience of any man in the least iota, and if

I can reconcile my creed with my conscience, no one but God can with justice call me to an account. Every law thus made to circumscribe religious freedom, is a much greater outrage upon my rights, than an attempt to deprive me of corporeal liberty; and as such it should be resisted to the extent of my power. Had our constitution been formed by clergymen only, we should probably have had a presbyterian, an episcopal, or a baptist creed, of from ten to a hundred articles, the belief in which would have been necessary to the attainment of every place under government. Instead of seeing the faith of a candidate for office, rarely if ever the subject of inquiry, we should have had our presbyterian, or episcopal, or baptist governors, senators, collectors, post-masters, and letter-carriers. Our countrymen, like many of the Europeans of the present day, would have changed their creeds as easily as their coats. The national religion would then to a great extent have become an external affair; a powerful political lever, to undermine this or that offensive opinion or doctrine. I am aware that some of my countrymen would wish to control religious freedom only in a very limited degree, with the argument, that as the Bible is the greatest blessing ever given to man, it is the duty of legislatures to support religion by law. Religion, however, is established on a moral, and not on a political basis. In all the instructions of Christ and the apostles, we are left to form those opinions which reason and revelation shall point out to us as true. Not a syllable, not an obscure hint, imposes on us the least obligation to support it by the strong arm of power. But if we admit that it is our duty to support it at all, where shall we stop? I see no boundary between the first step, and the moral slavery which exists at Rome and in Spain. In such a country as ours, those who agree with us this year, may be in the minority a few years hence; and we may then be compelled in our turn to support a creed of which we partially or wholly disapprove. A sincere Socinian has as much right, politically considered, to accuse you of idolatry, as you have to charge him with deism; and he has the same right to make laws compelling you to support his creed, as you have to force him to contribute to your own.

The natural effect of such establishments is to produce hypocrisy. This I have often seen on the continent, particularly in

France and Italy; where the officers of the army and others would kneel to the Host with the greatest apparent devotion, since the not doing it would expose them to the frown of government; while with me, a foreigner, they would ridicule it, and proclaim their deistical sentiments, as if desirous of convincing me that they were not fettered by that superstition which brooded over the minds of some of their countrymen. One who thus unites in a worship in which he does not believe, is in the eye of God if not of man, a hypocrite; and is, of course, a much less valuable member of society than a sincere Jew or deist. One hypocrite makes five men doubt, where free discussion makes one. The very effect of all religious laws is, to induce those for whom they were made, to suspect the unsoundness of the creed of those who formed them. Religion certainly in modern times, never did and never can flourish, when supported by unnatural means. Men who wield such an engine, will find the power at their disposal too great, to escape being influenced by the desire of promoting their own selfish ends. The purest religion will thus be more or less corrupted, until it eventually becomes a mere political machine, to oppress mankind. Probably no man's creed differs more from that of the Jew or Catholic than my own; and still I rejoice, that I can call that country mine, where they both enjoy the same rights as myself.

LETTER XIX.

Leipzig, June, 1826.

I left Halle some weeks since, and arrived here in the midst of that almost endless rain, which reminds the inhabitants of the north of Europe, of the time when the ark rode on the waters. Our horses brought us over the five German, or twenty-three English miles between the two cities, in less than four hours, which is fast travelling for Germany. In the north there are but few turnpikes or paved roads, and even in the centre of Germany the former are less numerous than in the oldest New England states. Napoleon will be remembered with not a little pleasure by travellers, as having done more to lessen the inconveniences to which they were exposed thirty years since, than all the monarchs of Europe during the last century. Before the French visited Italy, there was not one good road in that country, and until they invaded Germany, there were very few here. Travellers of the last generation, and all who preceded them, used to cross the Alps with anticipations of broken limbs, and of being buried by avalanches. At the present time they wind so rapidly over the Simplon and Mount Cenis, that they have hardly time to view the interesting scenery through which they pass, before the quick rolling carriage bears them beyond the ravines and cliffs, and over the torrents, which had just begun to awaken their admiration. Though the French did not make as many roads here as in Italy, they taught the Germans that the difficulties were principally imaginary, and so roused the governments to this subject, that there are now ten good roads where there was one thirty years since. In travelling over the northern part of Germany near the ocean and the Baltic, from the Rhine to the Niemen, you crawl through sand, with little or nothing to relieve the ennui of your snail-like progress. At Cologne, a year since, I ascertained at the post, that the diligence was three days

and three nights in going from that city to Cassel, one hundred and forty or fifty miles, and always in motion. This will give you an idea of the tediousness of travelling in that part of Germany.

The road to this city, winds through rich fields of grain, which at that time, notwithstanding the cold, was just rising above the ground, and giving a beautiful green to the landscape. In the carriage with me, was a Prussian merchant from Silesia. He was returning from Hamburg, where he had been to dispose of some of the linen, for the manufacture of which that province is so celebrated. I asked him what was his success? "Very bad," he replied, "the English have supplanted us in all foreign markets." How is this, when bread only costs one-third as much with you as in England? He replied, he did not know, but that he knew very well he could not sell his linen. As this was a sore subject to him, I changed it by asking, how do the Silesians like Frederick William? "Very much, he is an excellent man, we could not have a better king." Does he do any thing for Silesia? "No! his eyes are directed so much to the Rhine provinces, that it is very true he overlooks Silesia." Has commerce been flourishing with you for some time past, and is it now? "Oh no, it is almost entirely destroyed; it is nothing to what it was formerly, It would be much better for us if the king would not lay so many restraints upon our commerce; our country would be much happier; but notwithstanding this, I believe that no land has a better monarch." I was much struck with the contrast, which this man exhibited to our northern merchants, during the embargoes and non-importation acts of the Jefferson and Madison administrations. This conversation added one to the hundred, and almost the thousand proofs I have had since entering this country, of the truth of the remark that a Polish gentleman once made to me, that the Germans are born monarchists.

The states of Germany will be the last nations in Europe to extort a constitution from their sovereigns. The people will probably wait until it is presented to them in gracious generosity. What it is that occasions such a spirit of submission and patient hope, it is not easy to divine. In the time of Luther and of Moritz, they were filled with enthusiasm. The soldiers of the latter, of Frederick, and of Blucher, had more fire than their enemies. The students of the

universities exhibited a little a few years since, in reference to their own countries, but it stopped here. While the shout of liberty and equality was removing many of the kings of Europe from their thrones during the last thirty years, every German sovereign retained his, without any cause for fear, until a distant enemy approached his territory. Such a spirit of generous submission, during such periods of violence, certainly merits a corresponding generosity on the part of the potentates of Germany. To the honour of a few of these it may be said, that notwithstanding the darkness of Austrian politics, and the glitter of Russian bayonets, they have fulfilled the promise made to their subjects at the Congress of Vienna. Though the constitutions which they have received, are not such as would satisfy an Englishman or an American, they do furnish the first step in the ascent towards freedom, and they may possibly hereafter be not a little instrumental in politically renovating Germany.

The Germans, particularly the Saxons, are exceedingly fond of exclamations, some of which, with us, would be thought to border upon profaneness. You hear them from the lips of noblemen and citizens, professors and students, whenever you enter into conversation with them. The most common, and one which you hear almost every five minutes, is *Herr Jesus*, lord Jesus. *Lieber Gott*, dear God, *du lieber Gott*, thou dear God, and *mein Gott*, or my God, are heard almost as frequently. The exclamations of surprise, viz., *Gott's Tausend*, God's thousand, *Gott's Hundert*, God's hundred, *Gott's Blitz*, God's lightning, and *Gott's Donner*, God's thunder, though they come not as frequently, still one or all of them strike the ear, ten times as often, as the vesper bell of Italy calls the nun to her devotions. Among the students of the university in this city, you occasionally hear *Donner und Doria*—thunder and Doria. This is an exclamation often uttered by Giannettino Doria in Shiller's play of Fiesco, and has been introduced since that work was written. This last expression is sometimes used as indicative of surprise, but usually as an expletive.

In their salutations, the Germans are very warm in comparison with the English, whom they, as well as all the nations of the continent, regard in this respect as exceedingly frigid and destitute of heart. Whenever they part, they say, *Leben sie wohl*, may you

live well, or happily; and also *Empfehle mich ihnen*, I commend myself to you; or if they address a stranger, or a slight acquaintance, they add the word *gehorsamst*, or I commend myself to you most respectfully. They have another salutation, which you constantly hear in Italy and France, viz. *auf wiedersehen;* to see you again. In passing each other, they do not merely touch their hats, as with us, but take them entirely off, raising them high above the head. In this respect they are as punctilious as a French or Italian *petit maître*, for they do so not merely to ladies, but to each other. Among the students, however, you see nothing of this, as in all the universities they have passed a law to dispense with all these civilities, as useless to the *Burschen*. They retain, however, the custom so universal in Germany, of addressing each other with the prefix *lieber* or *liebster*, dearer or dearest; *mein lieber* or *theuer Freund*, my dear friend; and *liebster* or *theuerster*, and *mein liebster* or *theuerster Freund*, dearest or my dearest friend. The peasant girls and many of the humbler classes in the cities, when they meet those whom they regard as their superiors, say *Schön guten morgen* and *schön guten Abend;* literally, beautiful good morning, beautiful good evening.

Three great fairs are held at Leipzig, at New-Years, Easter, and Michaelmas; when most of the business of the city is thus transacted. At other seasons, a traveller would not be conscious of being in a great commercial city. The fair at Easter is much the longest, and at that time merchants resort here from every part of Europe. Eighty thousand strangers have been registered at the police-office at a single fair, but of these probably not more than one thousand were booksellers. They come from every country in Europe, from Russian Asia, and even from Persia. At this fair you hear every language, and behold every variety of physiognomy and costume, from the sea of Aral to Philadelphia, and from Archangel to Portugal. Europe and Asia are then brought together in the streets of this city. The traveller who wishes to write a description of lands which he has never seen, may here find materials to enliven the pages of his work. The hotels at this period are overflowing, and three, four, and five beds are placed in each room. The houses of the inhabitants, with the exception of those of some of the most wealthy, are then occupied by the in-

habitants of the Don, the Caspian, the Frozen Ocean, and the Tagus. Among this number the Polish Jews are conspicuous. Their long black robes, bound round the body, and extending to their feet, their dark black eyes and huge beards, remind you of the capuchins of Rome; for whom they might easily be mistaken, provided the colour of their robes were altered, and the stout boot exchanged for sandals. They are both equally dirty, and equally disagreeable in their appearance, though the round face and merry look of the monk, convey a much higher degree of contentment, than the prominent nose and glistening eye of the Jew. The number of Jews who resort here is so great, that many of the signs of the shops are in Hebrew, as well as in German. Some of this race inhabit this city; the precise number, however, I have not been able to ascertain.

Within a few years the commerce of Leipzig, in every branch excepting that of literature, has very much diminished.* Prussia and Austria will not allow most of the manufactures of this country to enter their dominions. Saxony, by its division at the Congress of Vienna, has become too small to support those extensive manufactures that existed when her territory was not only much larger, but when the internal trade of Europe was much less shackled than at present. The sale of books, however, is as great as formerly, and is rather on the increase. Books, when transported from one German state to another, pay no duty, provided they were printed any where within the bounds of Germany. The copy-right of works is not secured by the government, as with us; but an agreement exists among all the respectable booksellers, that when one of their number has purchased a copy-right of an author, no other shall reprint the work without purchasing the right of the proprietor. If any bookseller should violate this compact, and reprint a work, while the author or purchaser is still living, the other booksellers are pledged never to sell a work which he publishes, and to have no transactions with him. Almost every individual in the trade, is thus under the necessity of assenting to

* The commerce of this town is still very considerable. One of the Post-masters of this city informed me, that on those days when the Paris mail arrived, it was not unfrequent to receive four thousand letters at the office. This mail comes every other day.

this compact, and rarely is one to be found, who will not accede to it. This agreement, however, is merely an implied one, and strongly exhibits the influence of public opinion. A pirated edition is called a *Nachdruck*, and although better executed than most of the German works, they are to be found only in the shops of the retailer, or in the sheds of the streets. I have remarked, that the governments do not protect the author by a copy-right, as with us. There is, however, one exception. Göethe, the great poet of Germany, applied the last winter to the German Alliance at Frankfort, for a copy-right for his works throughout all Germany. His popularity was so great, that it was immediately granted for fifty years. He has sold his works for that period, for one hundred thousand Prussian dollars. This, however, is the only example since the Diet first assembled in 1815.*

Leipzig, notwithstanding the diminution of its commerce, has greatly increased in population within a few years. It now contains forty-two thousand inhabitants. Three-fourths of this population dwell within the bounds of the old fortifications, which are not more than two miles in circumference. The houses are usually from four to six stories, and most of them have from two to four stories on the roofs. In this etherial region, those of the students and literati reside, whose resources are limited. Their thoughts in one sense of the word, are certainly very elevated. This city is built of brick and stone covered with cement, which does not break off like that of Berlin. An appendage to many of the houses is peculiar. Over the doors, from the second story upward to the fourth or fifth, is a projection of four feet, by a breadth of eight or ten. Here are placed windows, through which the ladies can look up and down the street, without being observed. These are a very good substitute for the mirrors which you so frequently see on the exterior of the houses, in the cities bordering the Rhine, and even in Berlin. These mirrors are placed at such an angle, that every one who rings at the door or walks along the street, is reflected to the eye of the lady who sits at her window. She is consequently *at home* or *not at home*, as she likes the society

* Since the above was written, the Diet have given to the children of Schiller, a copy-right of the works of that dramatist, for fifty years.

of the visitor. This is a most convenient mode of gratifying female curiosity, and of relieving one's self from the *ennui* of a disagreeable visitor, by accepting his card as a substitute for a visit.

Leipzig was formerly a fortified town. After the seven years' war, the fortifications were destroyed, the ditches filled up, and the ground converted into an English garden, which now entirely surrounds the city. It is laid out in very great taste, and is for its extent, one of the most beautiful promenades of Europe. A monument to C. W. Muller, the celebrated Bürgermeister of Leipzig, was erected by the citizens in the most conspicuous part of the garden, as a tribute of gratitude for the great services he rendered them. The rambles around this town are very beautiful, among which the *Rosenthal*, the rosy valley, is the favourite one of the students and citizens. I know not whence it received its name, for not a rose blossoms there. The noble oaks which border it, render it much more beautiful than a vale of flowers; and as they stretch their arms out into the air, and shoot their tops towards the heavens, they strongly remind me of our western forests.

Among all the walks around this city, there is none which I visit so often, and with so much interest, as the garden of Reichenbach. The small lake which lies so tranquilly in this garden of foliage and flowers, and the beautiful bridge which arches it, leave on the memory the impression of a lovely picture. There is however a higher interest awakened by a ramble here, than that derived from its artificial beauty. It was from this spot that Prince Poniatowski plunged into the Elster, as he was pursued by the allied troops. In the centre of the garden is a neat monument, erected to the memory of this gallant Pole, and on the spot where his body was drawn from the stream, is a small stone with the following inscription.

Hic
In undis Elystri,
Josephus Poniatowski
Princeps.
Summus Exercitus Polonorum Praefectus,
Imperii Gallici Mareschallus, tribus vulneribus
Letiferis acceptis, ultimus ex acie descedens,
Dum receptum magni Gallorum exercitus tuetur,
Vita gloriae, et patriae sacrata functus est.
Die XIX Octobris A CIↃIↃCCCXIII
Anno aetatis impleto LII.
Popularis Populari Duci Miles,
Hoc Monumentum lacrimis suis irrigatum,
Posuit.

Poniatowski was the favourite of the Poles, as well as of Napoleon. The hope that the Emperor would restore freedom to his country, and enable it to re-assume its rank among the nations of Europe, induced him, and many of his countrymen, to cling to the cause of France, long after Poland had been over-run by the advancing Russians. The great battle of Leipzig, in destroying not merely a large proportion of the French army, but still more in terminating the life of this idol of the Poles, extinguished the last hopes of that nation. The Elster here, is not more than forty feet in breadth, and has a moderately rapid current. Had he not been wounded, it seems impossible that he should not have crossed it with ease.

It is believed by many of the Europeans, even at this day, that the sovereigns, who dismembered Poland, had the intention of re-establishing that monarchy, and of making Poniatowski king of that country. Any one who casts even a glance at the history of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, during the last sixty years, must entertain doubts on the subject. To these powers, more than to any others in Europe, may be applied the words of Mephistopheles, when speaking of the love of gormandizing which had so long distinguished the Catholic church.

Die Kirche hat einen guten Magen,
Hat ganze Länder aufgefressen,
Und doch noch nie sich übergessen.

"The church has a good stomach, hath eaten up whole countries, and has never over-eaten."

Many of the Germans appear as ignorant of our country, as the Parisians and Italians. Madame ——, the lady in whose house I have my rooms, mentioned to me to-day, that as she was recently visiting one of her neighbours, she observed to her that an American gentleman was lodging in her house. The good lady, who had always associated the idea of cannibalism with that of an American, asked her, if she did not fear to remain in the house with me. She replied, that as I was perfectly harmless, she had yet discovered nothing to excite her fears. She then wished to know, if I was not black. While at Cologne, a year since, on entering one of the churches, I discovered the statue of a black saint near one of the altars, whose name, if my memory is accurate, was St. Gereon. On inquiring of my guide who he was, he replied that he was an American saint. Upon my telling him that there were few saints of that colour there; he replied, "you mistake, Sir, the Americans are all black."* I have been very fortunate since my landing in Europe, in pitching my tent in very agreeable quarters, and have found the families who furnished me with rooms, often manifesting an interest in my welfare, while suffering from ill health, that at

* While residing in one of the large cities in Europe, a family from a neighbouring town, came to pass a few days in the metropolis, and took a suite of rooms next to my own. They inquired of the landlady; who occupied my rooms. She replied, a gentleman from America. "From America, and are you not afraid of him?" No! he has done nothing yet to excite alarm. "I am almost afraid to stay here, are you sure he is harmless?" She observed, that I had resided there some weeks, and had behaved as well as other travellers. As a door opened from one of my rooms into the first of theirs, they still thought there might be danger, and requested her to fasten it. This, however, was not a sufficient defence. The trunks of the whole party were piled against the door, to prevent my entrance. Unfortunately for the fears of this family, the chimney sweepers came at an early hour the next morning, and commenced their sooty employment. The party were suddenly awakened by the strange and incomprehensible noise of trowels and scrapers, coming in contact with dry brick. They rose in great alarm, and called out to the mistress of the house, begging her to come to them. As she entered their room, they wished to know if that American was not the cause of it, mistaking, probably, the noise of the scrapers, for a sharpening of the tomahawk.

times has made me almost forget that I was in a land of strangers. This has resulted partly from a desire to know something about America, and still more from the circumstance of my being so far removed from my native land, which appeared to them, as distant as the moon does to one of our seamen. The middling classes of Germany, are so unaccustomed to travel, that a thousand miles appears to them, as far as China does to me, and when they hear that I am four thousand miles from home, they lift up their hands, roll their eyes, and exclaim, "Oh! that is terrible." Those who live in the interior, are as fearful of the ocean, as a hen is of having her chickens approach the water. If Yankees were made of such stuff, we should never have a ship large enough to navigate a duck pond.

It is a very interesting matter, to observe the influence of the ocean upon civilization. Why were Greece, Rome, Carthage, Tyre, so far advanced in wealth and refinement; while those nations inhabiting the interior of Europe, Asia and Africa, were partially, or wholly barbarians? Why have England, Holland, Spain, and Portugal, at different periods of their history, extended their conquests so widely, that their respective monarchs could say with truth, "the sun never sets upon my dominions?" There is but one answer to this question: these countries abounded with harbours. The daily sight of the ocean, made the inhabitants so familiar with its terrors, that they soon embarked upon it, and having thus ventured, they soon learned to despise and forget its dangers.

The government of the German cities is very different from ours; corresponding much nearer with the towns of Holland. It consists of a species of assembly, composed of four branches. These are,

1. *The Bürgermeisters*, of whom there are two who serve alternately for one year. Each one receives a salary during the year he fills the office, but not when the chair is occupied by his companion. His salary amounts to some thousand rix dollars. They are chosen from the class called senators, and hold their place during good behaviour.

2. *The Senators*, of whom there are twelve. They are chosen from the *Stadthauptleute*. They receive a compensation for their services, of the amount of which I am ignorant.

3. *The Stadthauptleute*, who are elected from the *Bürgerrepresentanten*. They receive no compensation, the honour being considered an ample equivalent for their services. As this is a stepping-stone to the place of Senator, and as every elevation, however small it may be, is prized by the Germans, these places are not a little coveted.

4. *The Bürgerrepresentanten*, who are elected by the citizens. The number of each of these classes, varies in proportion to the population of the towns. They hold a session several times a week, at which the *Bürgermeister* presides. Every thing connected with the administration of the city, the levying of taxes, education, &c. comes under their cognizance. The citizens are taxed by this city parliament, to any amount they please to impose upon them, and there is no relief. Like almost every thing else of this kind on the continent, it is an unwieldy body, in comparison with the corporations of our towns. This, however, must be expected, for the Germans are as fond of titles, as they are of offices, and the number of both is ludicrous to a Republican.

The city of Leipzig deserves the greatest praise, for the efforts which it makes, and the expense which it incurs, to diffuse intelligence through every class of its citizens. For the instruction of the poor, five schools have been established, the expenses of four of which are defrayed by the city. These are,

1. *Die Arme Schule*, which has about one thousand scholars.

2. *Die Freye Schule*, where about nine hundred are instructed.

3. *Die Waisenhaus Schule*, or the Orphan School, in which one hundred and twenty children receive an education.

4. *Windler's Free School*, which is supported by funds, given to it by the founder, whose name it bears. The income is sufficient to provide the means of education for about two hundred children.

5. *The School of Industry.* Here the girls labour with their needle an hour or two daily; the rest of the time being devoted to their studies. The profits of their work are paid to the parents of the children.

In these five schools, there are between forty and fifty instructers, who, with the exception of those employed in the free school of Windler, derive all their support from the funds of the city treasury. In most, if not of all these, the children receive their

books and stationary, as well as their instruction, gratis. Besides these schools, there is in each of the four suburbs a *concessionirte* school, which is under the direction of some of the clergy. In these four schools, there are not more than five hundred children, each of whom pays from eight to ten rix dollars per annum, for instruction. In addition to the receipts from tuition, the instructers receive a small sum from the treasury of the city.

The *Bürgerschule*, or the school for the citizens, is intended for the instruction of the children of those who are wealthier. There are seventeen instructers, besides two teachers of penmanship, two of the French language, an instructer in drawing and sketching, and three female instructers in sewing, embroidery, &c.; in all, twenty-five. Each instructer has his particular department, to which he exclusively confines himself. He is not, as with us, the instructer of a particular class, but of a single branch, hearing from four to six different classes, who come to his room successively. One, for example, is an instructer in spelling, another in pronunciation, a third in reading, a fourth in arithmetic, a fifth in algebra, &c.; and to these branches they confine themselves for life. In pronunciation, every word is analyzed, and each part of it is so marked in the elementary books, as to give to the eye of the pupil a definite idea of the various syllables of which it is composed, and of the sounds necessary to utter it. In pronouncing it, each sound is analyzed without uttering word, i. e. the consonants of each syllable, so far as they are instrumental in the pronunciation, are given without the vowels. Afterwards they are both united. All the children pronounce at the same time, and with very great precision. As all are required to utter the sounds of the words, and as it is done by a signal, every eye is fixed upon the teacher. In precision, it resembles a military parade, more than a school. In reading, each pupil is required to give the rules for the accents. If he does not, the teacher asks, "who knows." All those who do, elevate their hands, and some one of them he asks for the answer. After a number of sentences have been read in this manner, and the proper accent been decided upon, they all read together, following the gestures made by the instructer. A similar mode of analysis is visible in the higher branches of instruction. The teachers are all men of education,

and by confining themselves to a particular department, they arrive at a degree of perfection, which is as beneficial to the scholars as it is gratifying to the spectator.

Besides the schools just mentioned, there are a number of private ones both for boys and girls, corresponding with the boarding schools of our country. Those for the former, however, do not meet with much success, as the gymnasia of this country afford much greater advantages than any private establishment which is not formed on a similar plan. The daughters of the *Bürger*, that is of those inhabitants of the cities, who are neither noblemen nor clergymen, receive their education at the *Bürgerschule*. The wealthy of all these classes, either send their daughters to some of the private schools, or have instructers who live in their houses, if they reside in the country.

The pronunciation of Saxony is much less soft than that of Hanover, the inhabitants of which state have the *bocca Romana* of Germany. That of Berlin is soft, but very defective. They pronounce, for example, *gut—yut*, *Got—yot*, *Jetz—itz*, and other words in the same manner. They are accused by the Germans of the north, of not speaking grammatically; which I believe is true, at least as it respects nine inhabitants in ten of the Prussian metropolis. They say, for example, *geben sie* MICH *das Brot*, instead of MIR, using the accusative for the dative. These mistakes you hear every day, unless when talking with literary men. They however speak much more correctly now, than in the time of Frederick the Great. That monarch did not speak his native language much more correctly than the duke of Marlborough wrote English; and old Blucher used to murder all the rules of syntax, with the same success as he destroyed the retreating French after the battle of Waterloo. One of the most distinguished literati of this country, who was a native of Berlin, informed me that, thirty years since, the inhabitants of Berlin spoke barbarous German; in fact, that it was rare to hear one speak grammatically. It is still rarer that you find one who can write it correctly. To do this it is necessary for a German to study his language with an assiduity and a patience, almost unknown to any other individual when learning his native tongue. I have been told by one of the German poets, that not one person in a thousand could write correct German.

This is certainly the only country, to which such a remark is applicable. You will easily believe then, that to a foreigner, the difficulties are almost insurmountable. The grammar remains for a long time a perfect chaos to him; and nothing but a long residence, will enable him to speak and write this language with tolerable accuracy. The substantives, like the Latin, have three genders. In the latter language, the terminations guide you; but in the German, with the exception of a few classes of words, your dictionary is your only aid; and to that you must constantly refer, to know what adjective, pronoun, or article should be used. Even after you have found the gender of your substantive and article, you meet with not a little difficulty in declining it; for there are nearly as many exceptions as cases to which your rule applies. Every adjective has three different modes of declension, which are determined by the species of pronoun or article which accompanies the substantive, or by the absence of one of these parts of speech. The very extensive combination of their words, by means of which they express almost every shade of thought, adds very much to the difficulties a foreigner meets with; and which, with many others I might mention, so obscure his path, that not until he has been at least a year in this country, can he rise above the foggy atmosphere of this language into comparative sunshine.

The German language is so arbitrary in its genders, that the analogy of other tongues, either ancient or modern, throws very little light upon the darkness which envelopes the foreigner. For example, *die sonne*—the sun, *die frau*—a wife, are feminine; *das pferd*—a horse, *das weib*—a woman, are neuter. The moon, which in most other countries is feminine, is here masculine. I see nothing in this luminary in Germany, which entitles it to a masculine character, for its rays are certainly not more powerful than in America, or than those seen in an Italian evening, where she shines in all the charm of feminine beauty.

The Saxons are accused by the Hanoverians of having a harsh accent; though the Rhine states would be perfectly satisfied to speak as well as the former, whose pronunciation they place next to that of the German subjects of king George. There is one sound which distinguishes a Hanoverian from every other German. All words beginning with the letter *s*, when followed

by a consonant, they pronounce soft ; for example, the words *sprechen*, *stein*, they utter as they are written. The Saxons and others, always give the *s* the sound of *sh ;* as *shprechen*, *shtein.* This the Hanoverians condemn, as it makes their language very rough, which is of itself harsh enough to any foreign ear ; and they also observe that the orthography ought to be followed. Their reasons appear conclusive to every foreigner ; but they are not thus regarded by the other Germans. They say, that in this respect the Hanoverians are affected ; and that the language loses its strength when deprived of its roughness, which after a short time ceases to be disagreeable. Most foreigners who enter Germany, confine their tour to the vicinity of the Rhine, where the pronunciation is very grating. The impression is almost universal in France and in our country, that it is impossible to listen to this language, with the same pleasure as to the French and Italian. This was my own opinion until I became sufficiently familiar with it to converse with ease. As soon as my ear was no longer accustomed to listen merely to the sound, much of its harshness vanished. So rich is it in conveying those ideas by single words, which is done in other languages by circumlocution ; and so full of feeling and depth of thought is the conversation of intelligent Germans, that I now listen to it with more pleasure than to any foreign tongue with which I am familiar.

In the vicinity of this city are a number of gardens, to which the inhabitants resort every afternoon, at an early hour. In some of them you find from fifty to seventy arbours, with a table in each, around which the family is seated. On entering, a *groschen* or two is paid by each individual, as a compensation to the musicians, who for this limited sum fill the air with melody. These bands of musicians, of which there are a number in Leipzig, though inferior to those of the royal guard, in Berlin, have obtained an excellence unknown in our country. The most difficult pieces of Beethoven, and of other distinguished composers of Germany, are there played with great animation. In receiving visits in these arbours from their friends, and in returning them, in strolling up and down the gardens, and in listening to the music, large numbers of the inhabitants pass four or five hours of the afternoon, until the setting sun, which, at this period of the year, is a substitute for the nine o'clock

bell, warns them to retire. At this season the theatre receives little encouragement, the inhabitants preferring the fresh air of the country and the music of the gardens, even to the noble productions of Schiller's genius.

One is not a little struck by the economy of the Germans, both as to money and time, even while engaged in their amusements. A shilling or two will pay all the expenses of a family at these entertainments, for most of them drink nothing but beer. As soon as they have taken their seats in an arbour, the mother and daughters unroll their half finished stockings, and knit away with an ardour that almost leads you to believe, you are in a school of industry, rather than a place of festivity. There is something almost ludicrous in this attachment of the Germans to knitting. To see fifty or a hundred young girls, half hid in arbours, with bright rosy cheeks and laughing eyes, busily engaged in taking up stitches, and making the circuit of their stockings, while as many young fellows are rallying them, or perhaps saying things almost unutterable, is a spectacle which is visible in no country but Germany. This custom is not confined to the middling classes. Often have I seen, in small societies, half a dozen or more of the daughters of the Herr Vons and Barons thus occupied, with huge stockings dangling from their fingers. When conversing with them, you rarely catch the eye of the fair *Fraülein* with whom you are speaking, as her needle requires all her attention. What they do with this infinitude of stockings, I cannot conceive. From their great dexterity and constant occupation, one would be led to believe, that this art was unknown in other countries. Whether the married ladies of Germany wear the small clothes or not, I am ignorant. If they do not, it is their own fault, for no husband would dare make any reply but an affirmative one, armed as they are most of the day, with those dangerous weapons.

This remarkable exhibition of female industry is only equalled by that of the other sex in smoking. The students, I have before observed, smoke most of the time, when not eating, or sleeping, or in their lecture rooms. The peasantry smoke while at work in the fields, as well as at home; and the other classes of Germans, not a small part of their lives. Though the young peasants do not

puff while in the waltz, they resume their pipes as soon as it is ended.

Dancing is the favourite amusement of all classes. In the United States, the French are supposed to have a stronger attachment to this exercise than any other nation. The Germans, so far as my observation has extended, appear to be much fonder of it, than any other people. Though the royal families do not dance, they polonaise, which is a light airy step, half way between a dance and a walk. All beneath them, however, feel that there is no loss of dignity, in throwing their feet about in all directions, and in spinning round in the waltz like a top. This last dance is the favourite with the Germans, as it originated in this country, and for ages has been national. They introduce it into most of the foreign dances, which have been imported here, giving to all of them a life which is unknown in the graceful motions of the French cotillion, or in the stiff figures of the English. They have a much greater variety than I have elsewhere seen, some of which, are not unfrequently boisterous. Many of the figures are very beautiful, and some not a little numorous. Into not a small number of their cotillions, many of the plays of children are introduced, which produce an abundance ef merriment. Mothers unite with their daughters in the same dance; and it is not uncommon to see a father, swinging round in the waltz with his daughter, and his wife with her son. But, although the Germans dance more than the French, they are much less graceful in their motions. This is the result of a native awkwardness, which is almost universal in this country, as well as of several other causes, which have been already specified, in my remarks upon the defective eloquence of the Germans. They are, however, much less awkward than they would be, had they never felt the animating influence of the violin. Fielding remarks, in his Amelia, that "those persons whose feet have never been under the hands of the dancing master, are apt to discover the want of it in their education, in every motion, nay even when they stand or sit still." "They seem," he says, "to be overburthened with limbs, which they know not how to use." This awkwardness is visible even in many of the Germans who have been under the discipline of this instrument; still they have much less of it than they would have exhibited, had they never learned to move

to music. As a part of education, under proper regulations, it cannot rationally be objected to; but that it should be carried to the extreme it has reached in this country, seems surprising to one, who knows how interesting is the conversation of intelligent Germans.

Yankee curiosity is proverbial in England, as well as in our own country. In the extended sense, of this word, it is applicable to us in a peculiar degree, but in one more restricted, it applies equally to Europeans. I have never held five minutes conversation with a Frenchman or Italian, at least with those of the middle class of society, without being questioned as to my country, my occupation, &c. In Germany these questions are put to you less frequently, but still so often, as to remind you, that inquisitiveness is not confined to our villages. The form of address is always the same. You are an Englishman, I suppose? No. A Scotchman, perhaps? No. You must be an Irishman, then? I am not. You are not a Frenchman? Certainly not. Are you an Italian? No. You must be an Englishman, then? I never was in England. Are you a Spaniard, or Portuguese? No. You are neither Greek nor Turk? No. Oh! I know now; you are a Russian. I have never been in Russia. Are you from the north of Europe? I am not. You must be an Asiatic then? I have never seen Asia. You cannot be an African? No. By this time they arrive at the *ultima Thule* of their recollection, and looking round at their companions if there are any present, with an expression of wonder, and then at me, with a gaze of astonishment; they either declare that I am from the moon, or with great earnestness inquire, from what part of the world I have come. Sometimes I tell them that I have come from the moon, which they seem half inclined to believe; or when I mention my country, they exhibit as much surprise, as if a *lunarian* had really descended to the earth.

Auerbach's cellar, the celebrated scene, where Mephistopheles introduces Faust to a *Burschen* revelry, is still existing here. Though it is not as favourite a place of rendezvous as it was some hundred years since, Frosch and Brander might still procure a glass of Hoch or Champaign, of as fine a flavour, as in the days of the professor when Mephistopheles played off his legerdemain on those students. There is still in existence an old song or fable,

descriptive of the visit of the Doctor and his companion to this favourite resort of the *Burschen.* In concluding the account of the "Hokuspokus" of the Devil in this cellar, it describes the Doctor as disappearing astride of a wine cask.

> Der Doctor Faust zu dieser Frist,
> Aus Auerbach's Keller geritten ist,
> Auf einem Fass mit Wein geschwind,
> Das hat gesehen manch Menschenkind.

Faust has been the terror of the youth of many countries for ages. His life and marvellous adventures have been written and related so often, that there are few children who have not shuddered over his miserable fate. Whether such an astrologer and physician as the Doctor ever lived, is one of those questions which will be decided in the negative or affirmative, as you address an educated man or a peasant. According to tradition he was born about the year 1500, and when sixteen years of age commenced the study of theology at Ingolstadt. He afterwards devoted his time to the acquisition of medicine, astrology and magic, of which sciences he acquired a thorough knowledge. During the twenty-four years Mephistopheles served him, he led a very gay and dissipated life; his servant providing him with every enjoyment within the reach of diabolic influence. It was in 1523 that he visited Auerbach's cellar. Some twenty years afterwards, his merciless companion deprived him of life, in the village of Rimlich. What gave rise to the tradition, it is impossible to discover. However much the Germans may lament the credulity of their ancestors, there are few of them who do not rejoice that tradition has preserved this vestige of it, as it has furnished several of their poets with a theme which they have clothed in poetry of a very high character. Of the two tragedies written by Lessing on this subject, only a small fragment remains. The Faust of Klinger I have not read. That of Goethe has thrown all others into the shade. It is universally considered by intelligent Germans as the first poetical work of their language, and no foreigner can peruse it without acknowledging it to be one of the first efforts of the human mind.

Leipzig has ceased to exhibit any marks of the dreadful battle, which, thirteen years since, raged in and around its walls. Till

within a short period, the balls which entered the walls of some of the houses were visible, but all vestiges of the carnage in the city have been obliterated by their demolition, and by the repairs they have undergone. Of this contest the inhabitants still speak with horror. They were surrounded by nearly eight hundred thousand men, who brought into action more than a thousand pieces of artillery. The villages around them were daily sending up their flames to heaven; and nothing was heard but the roar of cannon, and the shrieks of the dying. Every house, tower, and public edifice, was covered with spectators, looking with intense anxiety for the result of these conflicts. In the smoking villages, they thought they saw their own approaching ruin. The wounded were brought into the city from hour to hour, till almost every house was converted into an hospital. The number of these soldiers only increased the sufferings of the inhabitants. Their provisions were nearly consumed, and with difficulty could the inhabitants who remained procure food, to satisfy the wants of the moment. As day after day rolled away, they looked in vain for the result of this tremendous conflict. Famine began to stare them in the face, as the French troops pressed into the town. The final hour arrived, and the retreating French left the city, amid one of the most awful scenes of carnage which the sun has ever beheld. The little bridge which crossed the Elster, was the only passage for their troops. Towards this the allies directed a battery of cannon, until it was choked with dead. At last it was blown up, and twenty thousand French who remained behind, were compelled to surrender. A French cavalry officer informed me, that he crossed the bridge when this battery was sending forth its deadliest fire upon it. The dead and dying were then piled up to the parapet, and over them he eventually forced his way, the feet of his horse occasionally sinking down between the bodies, as when passing through a marsh.*

This battle was viewed in anticipation, both by Napoleon and his enemies, as the decisive struggle. On its issue rested the

* The only vestige which remains of this conflict, is the luxuriance of the soil on that part of the plain surrounding Leipzig, where the battle was the most severe.

freedom of Germany. They girded themselves for this contest, as if about to combat for their all. Indeed, the feelings of both armies were strained to the highest degree of excitement. The cruelty exhibited towards the French, was without a parallel in this war. The Prussian soldiers, after the battle was over, bayonetted the wounded French as they lay on the field, weltering in their blood.* This was done in sight of their officers, who made no effort to prevent this inhuman carnage. These acts, and the subsequent severities of the Prussians in France, are now remembered by the French army and nation; and the time, as they hope, is not far distant, when they may have an opportunity of wiping away the bitter recollections of this day. These are the causes why the French army are so desirous of a war with Prussia at the present time. "Oh! that we might have an opportunity of combatting them!" said the cavalry officer to me, to whom I have already referred. "If the day ever arrives, there will be a carnage without example in modern civilized warfare. It is impossible that any quarter can be given; the mutual hatred is too deep, and the recollections of their cruelties are too vivid, for us to combat under the influence of humanity or generosity." His own feelings were peculiarly sensitive on this subject, in consequence of the ruffian-like treatment he had himself received from a Prussian officer. In one of the skirmishes near the French lines, he was taken by a company of Prussians in advance of the army. The captain who commanded it, immediately demanded his sword, which he gave him. He then directed him to surrender his purse, which he did. Seeing he had a better pair of boots than his own, he ordered some of the soldiers to draw them off, and taking them, he gave him his old ones in exchange. A detachment of French troops suddenly appearing on the brow of one of the hills, the Prussians retreated; when the captain ordered him to follow him, which he did as fast as his wounds would permit. Thinking that his prisoner might wish to escape, he drew his sword and cut at him several times. The Frenchman

* I received this statement from a Saxon nobleman, who was an eye-witness of this barbarity.

avoided his blows by falling back, and thus received only a slight wound. This act he thought so cowardly, so much unlike an honourable-minded soldier, that although he was one of the most gay and laughing of his nation, he could not speak of it without indignation. *Les plus chiens* was the only name of which he thought the Prussians were worthy.

LETTER XIX.

LEIPZIG, JUNE, 1826.

THE prodigious fertility of the intellectual soil of Germany, is unexampled in the history of literature. There are few departments of real or imaginary existence, which the minds of the Germans are not exploring; few nooks or corners in the immense field of speculation, which they have not entered, or which they are not prepared to examine. The old beaten tracks in theology, medicine and philosophy, many of them feel disposed to shun, and they venture into the regions of possibility with a confidence, which no doubts can shake, and no obscurity can terrify. The love of novelty exists here to the same degree as it did formerly in Athens, and the discovery of something new, excites the attention of their literati, from the Baltic to the Austrian boundary, where every thing intellectual usually stops. The Germans are always prepared to attack or defend every new theory with all their powers. Every new opinion is a literary throwing down of the glove; and in the contests which arise, armies of *savans* seize their pens, and shed streams of ink, filling their country with publications almost numberless. An editor of a newspaper in these dull times of peace, does not grasp at an account of a conflagration or piracy with more ardour, than many of the Germans seize on every new opinion. Each new theory has its reign of weeks, or months, or years, and then like a deceased monarch is succeeded by those which are to follow it. an instance, illustrative of this love of literary controversy, has been related to me by a professor of one of the universities of this country. You may recollect that some years since Professor Niebuhr of Bonn, discovered in the library of Verona, the *Institutions of Gaius*. The mice had unfortunately, as we should say, made considerable havoc with the manuscript. The German literati, how-

ever, as my informant states, so far from regretting this, felt under great obligations to these gormandizers, as by their assistance they were enabled to speculate upon the probable sentiments of the author, in those parts of the work which these animals had digested. Speculation after speculation on the probable opinions and language of the author were published, until some more interesting novelty succeeded it.

The publication of a book is indispensable to the existence of a literary reputation, and thousands enter the field of authorship very young, sometimes before reaching manhood, when novelty is more interesting than at a maturer age. It is to one in ten, the means of making himself extensively known, and of advancing him much more rapidly than if he had not thus appeared before the public. The other nine, however, who enter this literary arena, are retarded, and their works are a source of but little profit, except to the paper maker. There is another evil which results from this, much greater than the one just mentioned. At twenty, or even at twenty-five, few minds are sufficiently matured to form those opinions which rest only on a firm foundation. As they advance in life, and are enabled to see more clearly, many of the theories they embraced, and the opinions they formed in youth, lose their reality, and are discovered to be fancy merely. The very opinions they maintained in their earlier publications, they accordingly sometimes attack in later life; and the same individual at different times advances his belief and disbelief of the same thing, with equal ardour. The celebrated theologian A——n, (if we may believe the Germans) has had as many creeds as he has had coats. A few years since he was a very ardent neologist, and now he exhibits the same ardour in the defence of supernaturalism; then he was opposed to all creeds, now he is advocating the introduction of the liturgy into the Lutheran church of Prussia. What he will be next year, will depend on the religious politics of the Saxon government, or on the prospect of a reward from Frederick William.

The love of authorship renders the German press more active than any other in the world. Leipzig is the great book market for the centre of the continent, not merely for works printed in German, but for those in classic and oriental literature, and for all the modern languages of Europe. The books printed in Germany are

to a considerable extent published and sold here. The catalogue of those published at the late fair in April, forms a large octavo volume, containing the titles of between five and six thousand works. In 1800, the number of new works published at the fair was 3969; in 1803, 4280; in 1810, 3708; in 1820, 4698. Many of these works are in one, but not a small number are in two, four, and five volumes. Making, however, every deduction for the first class, the number of comparatively ponderous tomes, must greatly exceed that of Paris or London. It is necessary to dispose of about 500 copies of a work, to cover the expense of publication. If it has merit, not a small proportion of the edition is purchased for the libraries of the universities, and of those cities where no such institutions exist, and by the friends of the author. If he has any reputation, he always meets with a great number of booksellers ready to publish his work. I have now before me a catalogue of the *most valuable* theological works published in Germany within the last seventy years. They amount to more than five thousand, and are from one to twenty volumes each. What a theological ocean is here presented for a German, and above all for a foreigner to navigate! You will observe that the most valuable works only are here included; all ephemeral and third rate publications being consigned to oblivion. Whatever views one may form of German theology, he will be compelled to admit, that the German divines in industry stand pre-eminent. There are very few theological opinions, which, since the Reformation, have been presented for investigation, that have not been analyzed here during the last half century, with a minuteness of examination rarely known in other countries. How much soever we may lament that their investigations have often led them from what we believe to be truth, we must admit, if we examine their works, that they have done more to enlarge the knowledge of sacred criticism, than all the nations of Europe. In this respect they are a century in advance of England and of every other country.

The catalogue of the ablest works which have been published in Germany since the year 1750, on history, geography, and auxiliary subjects, contains a list of between seven and eight thousand works, from one to twelve volumes each. The catalogue of Greek and Roman authors, with the best translations and commentaries,

includes more than twenty-five hundred, which have been published since the last century. The other departments of literature are equally rich. From the few specimens I have given you of the number of the most valuable works in these departments, you will be able to form an idea of the immense fertility of the press of this country. Were those in the departments of law, medicine, philosophy, criticism, oriental and modern literature, those of poetry, romance, the fine arts, &c. to be added, they would probably, without including ephemeral publications, amount to from fifty to one hundred thousand works, which have appeared in this country since the middle of the last century.

You will easily believe, from this statement, that the great booksellers of Leipzig transact an amount of business unequalled by any in Europe, a few of those in London and Paris being excepted. The number of volumes sold by each of them, is probably several times as great as are sold by Murray, or by Longman & Co. as German books do not cost more than one-third as much, as those printed in England.

Leipzig is not more distinguished for its commercial than for its literary reputation. The university of this city is one of the oldest, and one of the most celebrated in Germany. It was founded in 1409, by some of the professors of Prague, who left the university of that town, and with a considerable part of the students, came to Leipzig. The fourth centurial anniversary of this institution was celebrated here a few years since, with great pomp and parade. This university, for a very long period, has been distinguished for the learning and talents of its professors, as well as for the number of its students. In these respects, until Göttingen became its competitor, it was most of the time without a rival in the north of Germany. It now presents much of that venerable antiquity, which the traveller beholds in an ancient edifice which time has spared. For centuries it has been an intellectual Stromboli, or perpetual lighthouse to the mind. Over Saxony it has poured a flood of intelligence, rendering this land for ages the intellectual garden of Germany. Its influence on the world has probably been greater than that of any other institution on the continent, with the exception of the university of Paris. Although in reputation, that of Göttingen has in some respects surpassed it

within the last fifty years, still from the limited period which has elapsed since its foundation, it has done comparatively little towards making Hanover the classic land of Germany. Ask an inhabitant of the Rhine, the Vistula, the Danube, or the Baltic, where is the Attica of Germany, and he will answer, Saxony. To the student, the very word Saxony has a charm, which more than any other awakens a national pride, in his being able to say that he is a German. Though ages have rolled over this university, it has lost none of its youthful vigour, and even during the last twenty years, it has been equalled by very few in the number of its students, and in literary fame. In classic literature it has always been pre-eminent. It now enrols among its professors the first Greek scholar in Europe, and, in the opinion of many, the first that Europe has had for the last century. It also boasts of Rosenmüller, as the first commentator on the Old Testament, of modern times. It still maintains its high reputation in classical literature, holding the first rank among the German universities.

The custom of delivering lectures in the Latin language still prevails in this institution, while in most of the universities, they are almost exclusively given in German. A century since they were to a very considerable extent delivered in the former language. Although the students receive a more thorough education at the gymnasia at present than formerly, and all of them learn to talk that language very fluently before leaving those institutions; there seems to be an unwillingness on their part, as well as on that of the professors, to listen to, or deliver lectures in a foreign dress. Professor Schleusner informed me, that while residing at Göttingen, he delivered a course of lectures in Latin. At the commencement his room was filled. The number of students, however, gradually diminished, until before the course was half finished, there were not more than a dozen auditors. This opposition to lectures in a foreign language, can only be explained by the strong attachment the Germans feel to their own tongue. It is much richer in combinations, and much more copious than the Latin; and it is now beginning to be considered a classical language of Europe, for it can boast of writers in almost every department of science and literature, inferior to few, if to any, in the republic of letters. "Why should we," say they, "deliver lectures in Latin,

when our own language is so much superior." Numbers of them still write many of their professional works in Latin, particularly the theologians. Within a few years, however, even the writers on Biblical criticism are beginning to feel the same attachment to their language that is manifested by those in other departments of literature. Twenty years since, almost every work on sacred literature appeared in this foreign dress, now more than half of such works are written in German.

Hermann, the most distinguished Greek of Germany, as his countrymen style him, still fills the chair he has so long held in this university. He is, if you will believe some of his admirers, a perfect Roman in his language, though foreigners have not been as willing to admit this. All, however, must allow, that it is sufficiently pure, to please any ear but that of a very acute critic, and were his students as much like old Romans, as his language resembles that of the Augustan age, any auditor but such a one as just mentioned, might easily believe, while hearing his lectures on Euripides or Æschylus, that he was listening to an old Roman. The fame of Hermann is almost commensurate with the knowledge of Athenian literature. His works on Æschylus, Euripides, and Aristophanes, and on the metre of Greek and Roman poetry, will probably be considered as standard works, so long as Greek and Roman literature continue to form an essential part of educacation. Professor Hermann is now fifty-four years of age, and about five feet seven inches in height. In his face, his eye, his conversation, his walk, and emphasis, you discover a life and animation rarely seen in Germany. His two ruling passions are, a love of equestrianism and of Greek. He is on his horse several hours daily, and were he disposed, he would doubtless give as able lectures on horsemanship, as on the poetry of ancient Greece. When he enters his lecture room, he is usually clad in his riding dress, consisting of a coat, light buckskin pantaloons, long boots and spurs. He has also a riding whip in his hand, and in his dress presents very little of the antique cast of scholastic literature. Although his exterior is at first so unlike that of a *savant*, this is unobserved by the stranger, as soon as he commences his lecture. His Latin is so pure, and delivered with so much ease and elegance, that you find it difficult to realize, that it is not his native language.

He is enthusiastic in his love of Greek literature, and has so completely identified himself with ancient Greece, that his mind lives in the plains, mountains, cities, and temples of that country. He peruses the works of the old Grecians more than those of the Saxons of the nineteenth century, mentally participates in all their festivals and amusements, converses with their philosophers, poets, and historians, and mingles with them in all their foreign and domestic combats. His lecture room is literally overflowing, every seat and vacant passage being occupied by the students, many of whom are compelled to stand. Even the door, the passage, and as far beyond it as his voice will reach, are equally thronged. Long before the hour of his arrival, they crowd into his room, and while he lectures, no sound is heard, but that of his voice, and that of hundreds of pens treasuring his observations.

Hermann's fame in England is little inferior to that which he enjoys in this country. Some years since, as I have been informed, he received an invitation to accept a professor's chair at Oxford, and, if I mistake not, at Cambridge also. Professor Gesenius told me, that when he was in England, he was under the necessity of continually drawing a physical portrait of Hermann, in reply to the numerous inquiries made respecting him. This country has had no Greek scholar, except Wolf, to compare with him. By some of the admirers of the Berlin professor, Hermann would be placed just below him, but the majority of voices would place the wreath on Hermann's brow.

The study of Greek is pursued here now with more ardour, than at any previous period since the Reformation. "There is," say the *Romans*, viz. those who devote their time to Latin literature, "a perfect mania on this subject. It receives much more than merited attention." The gentlemen who are occupied with physical science are of the same opinion, and feel as if their departments were, in consequence of this enthusiasm, too much neglected. This mania, however, of which they complain, has been felt in almost an equal degree in other branches of criticism, in Hebrew and oriental literature, and especially in philosophy, ever since Kant published his "Critic of Pure Reason." This mania, of which they complain, has been the means of throwing more light upon the ancient world, within the last half century,

at least so far as Greece and Palestine are concerned, than had been shed upon it during a thousand years. When we consider the immense influence of the literature of Greece upon that of every civilized nation, we can scarcely believe that this language ever has been, or will be, pursued with too much ardour.

Saxony, which lies between Prussia and Austria, was so diminished in its territory by the Congress of Vienna, that it now forms one of the weakest European monarchies. Its population is not so great as that of the state of New-York at the last census, and its territory not more than two-thirds as large as that of Massachusetts. Its soil is surpassed by none in Europe of a similar extent, with the exception of Lombardy and the Netherlands, and is equalled by none in Germany, unless by that part of Baden immediately bordering the Rhine. It is almost literally filled with inhabitants; but so rich is the soil, and so comparatively light are the taxes, that the peasants here are better clad, better educated, and enjoy more of the comforts of life, than in any part of Europe I have seen. They can universally read and write, while some of them take one or more newspapers, and have some knowledge of the literature of Germany. A few of them have libraries, and in this respect, as well as in the amount of their incomes, and in the comforts of life, they resemble our farmers of the northern states, more than any of the peasantry of the continent, many of whom are but little elevated above the blacks of the southern states. The villages here are much larger, cleaner, and better built, than any others in Europe, and are truly gladdening to the eye of the traveller, so long accustomed to the dirty villages of France and to the miserable-looking houses of the peasantry of sandy Prussia.

Saxony has long been the great battle-ground of Germany, and Germany more than any other country, the battle-ground of Europe. The unfortunate situation of this country, placed as it is between the two great rival nations of the German Alliance, exposes it to invasion whenever either of the two powers shall sound the trumpet of war. Its proximity to Russia, as well as its latitude, for it lies directly on the line of march from Paris to Moscow, render it equally exposed to invasion, and to all the horrors which war brings in its train, whenever those countries shall gird on the sword for battle. In the thirty years' war, it was the great

theatre for combat and desolation, and during that period, its ground was moistened with the blood of contending armies, and its heavens blackened with the smoke of its burning villages and cities. In the seven years' war between Frederick and the allied Russian and Austrian forces, it was often the scene of carnage, and during the late retreat of Napoleon from Moscow, the plains of Bautzen, Dresden, and Leipzig, were the theatres of some of the bloodiest combats of modern times. It has been not merely the great scene of conflict, but has been compelled to nourish foreign armies, as well as to feel the devastations which they spread around them. Still, so fruitful is the soil, so great the industry of the inhabitants, so universal their intelligence, and I should also add, so wise has been the administration of the government, that Saxony has entirely recovered from these repeated and terrible ravages, in a shorter period than any other country which has been equally afflicted. The inhabitants often spoke of these calamities, and of the dangers to which they were exposed, with a feeling awakened only by sad experience. Although far from being desirous of seeing the French sceptre swayed over them, they would regard the arrival of the soldiers from that nation as happiness, in comparison with a visit from the delivering Austrians, or the thieving Cossacks. The latter, in every part of Europe which they traversed, have left behind them a name as terrifying to the ears of the inhabitants, as the cry, "the Mohawks are coming!" was to the Indian tribes who lived in the vicinity of that warlike people. There was nothing portable upon which these scoundrels of the Don could lay their fingers, by night or by day, that they would not take. They would steal with the cunning and slyness of a cat, when danger threatened, or take, *vi et armis*, when no officer was present to restrain them. If they saw a good coat* on the back of a boy who was traversing the road, or suspected that he had a watch or money in his pocket, they would stop,

* A friend of mine, who was walking not far from one of the cities of Hanover, was thus stripped by a party of Cossacks, of his coat, cravat, vest, watch, &c. and of every thing of any value which he had in his pockets. They kissed him several times, addressing him with the words *mein liebster Freund*, (my dearest friend,) and other terms of endearment, which they had picked up in Germany.

and, dismounting, address him with terms of great endearment, and then disburden him of these appendages with the greatest *sang froid* imaginable, consoling him at the same time with numerous friendly caresses. The beating which they now and then received, was no obstacle to these acts of rapacity, which were so universal, that throughout the northern half of Germany, the only idea instinctively suggested to the inhabitants by the word Cossack, is that of a thieving scoundrel. Saxony, during the last war, was so often visited by these miscreants, that there is but one feeling of disgust and abhorrence towards them, from the noble to the peasant. From this statement, you will readily excuse the Russian officers for the thrashings they bestow upon the backs of the Cossacks. To such pilfering vagabonds, a little stimulus from the cudgel seems to be an essential regimen. Every one of their officers must find his cane an indispensible *vade mecum*.

During the late continental war, Saxony clung to the cause of France until the battle of Leipzig; when it united with the allies against the common enemy. At the battle of Dresden, where Napoleon completely routed his enemies, they fought most valiantly on his side; and their bravery contributed not a little towards gaining the victory. The Saxon monarch could not do otherwise. His country was entirely in the hands of the French, between two and three hundred thousand of the emperor's troops being then in Saxony, while the king himself was with the French army. Before this country was freed from the troops of Napoleon, they united with the allies in the cause of freedom; and not only by their desertion from the French army during the battle of Leipzig, but also in the subsequent campaign, contributed all in their power, towards breaking the yoke of bondage. Prussia and Austria had done the same. They both furnished their quotas of troops to invade Russia; and not until the star of Napoleon was descending towards the horizon, did they unite with the Czar. At the Congress of Vienna, Prussia demanded as a compensation for her services, an extent of territory sufficient to serve as a balance against Lombardy, which Austria, who had come in at the eleventh hour, had received. The Rhine provinces, although they increased her population more than three millions, were not enough to fill the hungry stomach of Prussia. She looked upon Saxony, and

beheld the beautiful fields and the flourishing towns and villages of that country; and finding her stomach but partially filled by the provinces bordering the Rhine, she concluded to make of these a dessert to her dinner. Her appetite for this delicate food was rendered doubly vigorous, by the contrast of her own arid plains with this fruitful garden. Unfortunately a difficulty arose. How could she thus gormandize, and still retain her character for temperance? Just at this moment it occurred to prince Hardenberg, the Prussian minister at that congress, that the Saxon monarch had clung too long to the cause of Napoleon, and had thus displayed a character so entirely un-Germanic, that it was necessary to punish him by stripping him of part of his dominions. The Saxon minister at that assembly, Herr von Globig, doubtless alleged in opposition to this proposition, that Saxony had done nothing more than Austria and Prussia had formerly done, on the invasion of Russia. In such an argument, however, neither Nesselrode, Metternich, Hardenberg, nor Castlereagh could see any weight. The case was this: Austria must have Lombardy; Prussia is not satisfied with the Rhine provinces, and is still hungry for more land and inhabitants. A slice of Saxony will enable her to digest her dinner much better, and render great service to Europe. To this Saxony pleaded in vain. She had truth on her side; but how feeble is the decision of justice, when contrary to that of power. Like the sheep in the fable, whom the wolf on grounds almost equivalent to those of Prussia, accused of muddying the brook, she was compelled to yield to superior strength, and to acquiesce almost without a murmur. "The example is necessary," said these gentlemen; the states of Europe must be taught never to espouse the cause of a usurper." "Did you not espouse his cause, and that too at a time when from your numerous population, and great resources, you were ten times as able to oppose him as myself," replied Saxony? "That is another thing; you have muddied the stream of European legitimacy, and must be punished." The boundary line of Prussia was thus extended far into Saxony; and the monarch was obliged to resign from one-fourth to one-third of his territory and population, and with these the only salt mines he possessed. Although such conduct as this in miniature, in every part of the civilized world, receives the

name of robbery, and is punished in Prussia with death, yet when thus performed by monarchs at wholesale, it is called the administration of justice by the Holy Alliance. There is but one feeling in the heart of every honest man on this subject; and posterity will brand the authors of it with the infamy they deserve.

There is more freedom in Saxony than in any other part of Germany. By this I mean, a greater freedem of speech, and a comparative exemption from taxes. It is true that the press here is not free. This results, however, not from a desire on the part of the monarch to restrain it, but from the influence of Austria and Prussia, the two great powers whose territories almost surround this little kingdom. The press may criticise the proceedings of the Saxon government, with but little restraint; but it is not permitted to make any severe reflections on those of Austria and Prussia. One of the censors of the press in this city informed me, that whenever any thing appeared in the Leipzig press inclining to liberalism, the Austrian or Prussian minister immediately demanded the name of the censor who had inspected the work containing such sentiments; and in some instances, the Saxon government were under the necessity of removing him. The reason alleged by the powers for thus controlling the press in Saxony, is the following: All the works published here, which are not on the proscribed list, are freely admitted into Austria and Prussia. For our happiness, and the stability of our thrones, it is necessary that the press should be fettered. As the Saxons speak the same language as our own subjects, we must prevent their books from entering our dominions, or we must restrict the press of that country. This argument is no doubt conclusive, if it is admitted that monarchs have a right to shackle the human mind.

Notwithstanding this restriction of thought, through foreign influence, there is still so much liberty of speech here, that were it not for the language, it would be difficult for me to realize that I am in Germany. So long have I been accustomed to silence or to ambiguous language when the subject of conversation has been political, that my surprise is not less than my pleasure, to discover the free remarks of the professors, in conversation and in their lecture rooms, as well as of the inhabitants whenever there is an opportunity of expressing their sentiments. In other universities,

most, if not all, of the professors are very fearful of saying any thing in public, in praise of the United States, particularly in reference to its free constitution, and to its rapid increase in wealth and power, as the result of that liberty which flows from the institutions of our country. They fear to do this, however they may admire our country; for they know that through the medium of some of their auditors, whatever they have uttered, may reach the ears of the government, and may thus ensure them the loss of their places. The Saxon government however, is so liberal in its administration, that they have no fear. The professors not only discourse in the abstract upon the blessings of liberty, but comment in form on the institutions of England and the United States, with a boldness which gratified as much as it surprised me. The students I observed, received such remarks with the greatest pleasure; and though they did not cheer and cry *bravissimo*, as would have been done by those of the university of Paris, they showed in their brightening faces and in their smiles, the feeling that no political heterodoxy had been uttered.

The restriction of the press in Austria, is exceedingly ridiculous, and even contemptible, in the eyes of every liberal man. The number of proscribed books, is not greater than one might anticipate from a country so sunk in every thing which is intellectual and noble, and from a government which has formed an intimate alliance with Turkey. Not only the works of Lady Morgan cannot openly pass the Austrian boundary, because she has taken the liberty to speak with freedom respecting Austrian aggrandizement, but her ladyship has been recently stopped a short distance from the line, and sent back, as if she had been coming from a city where the pestilence was raging. A similar fate attended her travelling companions, who were supposed to be infected by the same political disease. Madame de Staël in her Germany, laughs a little at the physical character of the Austrians, particularly at their love of eating; and her work has, on that account, been placed upon the proscribed list. In Vienna, travellers are not unfrequently compelled to exhibit all their papers, and their letters. An acquaintance of mine, who a few years since visited that city, found, on his return from a morning's ride, one or more of the officers of police in his room. They had opened his secretary, and

were examining, and if I mistake not, copying his letters and papers, without the least embarrassment. An English gentleman during the last spring, on his return to his lodgings, found one of these scoundrels thus occupied, and in the true spirit of John Bull, kicked him down stairs as a reward for his impudence. No notice was taken of it by the officers of police, unless he may have received a florin or two for each of the dozen kicks which he received. This excessive rigour of the Austrian police, and their continual interference with Saxony, has made the name of Austria as odious to the ears of the Saxons, as was that of Napoleon to Frederick William, after the battle of Jena. They are so unwilling to own these southern Germans as brethren, that you could not easily insult a Saxon more, than by calling him an Austrian. They laugh not a little also at the Emperor Francis, whose reputation all over Europe is that of having the thickest scull, and one of the best hearts, of modern times. His love of making sealing wax, and his having been actually thus engaged, when the French were at the gates of his capitol, seems universally believed here; as well as his declaration at Laybach—that he "wanted no learned men, he only wanted good subjects, in his empire."

Prussia, in her index of proscribed books, is much less rigid than Austria. The works of Byron and Moore are sold in every part of the Prussian dominions, without any difficulty; although no authors have written against the Holy Alliance with pens dipped deeper in satire and ridicule, than the former in his "Age of Bronze," and the latter in his "Letters of the Fudge Family from Paris." The *Constitutionnel*, the *Journal des Débats*, and the *Courier Français*, are taken in most, if not all of the principal cities, and publicly exposed in the coffee-houses and reading-rooms. Even extracts are made from them, from the speeches of the French opposition in the chambers of Peers and Deputies, into all the papers of Prussia. Still, with all this apparent liberality, the Prussian government has lately been guilty of an act of severity towards one of the German papers, which to me is perfectly unaccountable. In the Berlin Almanack for 1826, under the head of Russia, it was stated, that Nicholas would succeed the Emperor Alexander to the the throne. As this appeared in the Berlin Almanack, which had passed the scrutiny of the censors of the

metropolis, it was considered by the French and German papers, as an accurate source of information; especially as the Emperor Nicholas is the son-in-law of Frederick William. The *Conversations Blatt*, published in Leipzig, copied this article, with some remarks on the probability of the correctness of the information, as it came from such a source. The Prussian Minister of the Interior, immediately published an order, forbidding the circulation of that paper in Prussia, assigning the publication of this article as the reason. Ten days after this, the news of the death of Alexander arrived in Berlin, and in less than three weeks, Nicholas ascended the throne of the Czars. Notwithstanding this complete confirmation of the statement, that paper, which had previously had a great circulation in Prussia, was not allowed to cross the boundary. This ordinance excited not a little contempt and indignation, as well as much regret, for it was a favourite journal with the Prussians. Since that time, the proprietor has been compelled to discontinue the work, in consequence of this great reduction of patronage.

But little cordiality of feeling exists between the Saxons and Prussians. The former complain of the latter as cold, proud, insolent, and as inferior to themselves in that love of learning, which has for so long a period distinguished Saxony, even in Germany. This dislike, which commenced as early as the invasion of this kingdom by Frederick the Great, has acquired new strength by its recent divisions. They know that their country lies at the mercy of Frederick William, and that whenever he chooses to invade them, their territory will be united to Prussia, or perhaps be divided between that country and Austria. The comparative liberality of their own government, has made the present king, Frederick Augustus, more popular with his subjects, than any other European sovereign. The heavy taxes of Prussia, the severity of its censorship, as well as the harsh treatment that many of the students and others have received, who were supposed to be guilty of plots against that government; all make them dread the embraces of their northern neighbour. Such an event they fear may take place, and to its arrival they look forward with an anxiety rarely felt by nations in a state of peace. Between Prussia and Austria they would not hesitate a moment, as their dislike to the

latter is only equalled by the hostility of Nelson to the French. They cling, however, to their own country, with an attachment which is not often seen on the continent; and when they speak of its history, from the Reformation to the Congress of Vienna, they show a feeling rarely visible in the faces and actions of the Germans. The time is probably not far distant, when it will belong to one or to both of these powers. The houses of Habsburg and of Brandenburg have been extending their dominions during the last century, and their desires of an increase of territory are so powerful, that nothing but expediency will prevent either of them from attempting to add Saxony to their dominions. Prussia needs this addition more than Austria; and if it must be united to either, it will probably fall to the fortune of the former country, as the inhabitants are, with very few exceptions, Protestants.

Prussia and Saxony are the two most enlightened countries on the continent, and are both rapidly advancing in knowledge and science. Although a few years since, the Saxons could justly accuse the Prussians of being intellectually their inferiors, the time will soon arrive, when to many parts of Frederick William's dominions this change will be no longer applicable. If Saxony must fall a prey to either of these countries, it is ardently to be hoped that it may never be subjected to Austria, as half a century passed under her vassalage, would annihilate all that learning and intelligence, which now elevates that little state above every other. Darkness, political and moral, would then cover one of the fairest portions of the globe.

LETTER XX.

Dresden, August, 1826.

The road from Leipzig to the vicinity of Meissen, passes through a luxuriant country, covered with wheat. The Mulda, which we crossed in a tow boat, about fifteen miles from the former city, is not the cast of a stone in breadth, and yet no bridge spans the stream. Meissen, with its cathedral crowning the hill on which it rests, presents a fine relief to the eye, which has so long been wandering over the rich plains of Saxony. The hills here rise almost to mountains, and throughout the fourteen miles between this town and the metropolis, extensive vineyards, spread from the Elbe to the hills, which receding from that river continually diverge, and display a wider and wider valley, until you enter Dresden. In passing from the new town to the old, you see the noblest bridge of Germany, which here crosses the Elbe with its sixteen arches. As innundations frequently occur, in consequence of the melting of the snow and from violent rains in the mountains of Bohemia, the Elbe varies several hundred feet in breadth, at different times; its waters sometimes climbing its low banks, in the space of twenty-four hours. The stream is now not more than one thousand feet in breadth. The bridge which crosses it, is, however, fourteen hundred feet in length, from which you can form an idea of the width of the Elbe, when at its greatest height.

Dresden is the classic city of Germany, and a favourite summer residence with all those Germans, who are attracted by the charms of polished society. The splendid collection of paintings which its gallery presents, even to one coming from Rome or Florence, the beauty and variety of its scenery, and the superiority of its opera, undoubtedly exert quite as powerful an influence in attract-

ing strangers, as the intelligent circles to which they are introduced. The Germans universally call it their Florence, and in most respects, the name is not misapplied. Like the Tuscan city, it is divided into two parts; but the Arno is a despicable stream in comparison with the Elbe, which even in summer, any one will behold with great pleasure, who has not been accustomed to the gigantic rivers of our continent. Though you see on its distant hills no such edifices as those of Fiesole, and the elevations which it unites, they are covered with glowing verdure, while here and there a bright mansion glittering in the setting sun, arrests the eye of the traveller, even if he has rambled in the vicinity of the Arno. Though it has no Pitti palace, with its noble collection of paintings, it can boast of the finest gallery in Europe. Its gallery of ancient sculpture, is one of which any one of the smaller cities of Italy might be proud, and which is only equalled by those of the French and Tuscan, the Roman and Neapolitan capitols. In its love of the arts, Florence, at the present time, does not surpass it; while in intelligence and cultivation, the inhabitants of Dresden are as much superior to those of the former city, as they are in morality. It wants, however, the historic charm, which renders Florence one of the "fairy cities of the heart." Rome, alone, in this respect equals the "city of Flora," where almost every street has its palace, or its cathedral, to remind you of its ages of glory. Dresden is proud of its churches and public buildings, but when it is obliged to compare itself in these respects, with the cities of the south, her proudest monuments of architecture are thrown into the shade, by the edifices which tower aloft, in the bright blue of an Italian sky.

The words "Italian sky," and "Italian atmosphere," are so constantly in the mouth of every Englishman whom you meet upon the continent, that an American is very apt to anticipate, as he is rolling towards Italy, a beauty which he never finds. In travelling through that country, he looks in vain for that dark blue, to which every poet alludes, for he rarely discovers it more than a few shades darker than that of his native sky, whence he often concludes, that his own is in no respect inferior. During more than a year's residence in that country, I daily examined the heavens when they were free from clouds, and not until some time had

elapsed, was I willing to admit that they were more beautiful than our own. The peculiarities of the Italian firmament, are the following. The zenith is much higher, and the horizon is consequently much more distant. The eye seems to penetrate much farther into the heavens, the blue having a liquidness peculiar to southern atmospheres, while ours, (I here speak of the northern states,) has a comparative solidity. In Rome, the sky is of a deeper blue than in any other city I have seen. In Naples, and also in Tuscany, it is sometimes of a bluish white, as if an almost transparent veil were spread over it. The eye is often deceived when observing it in the cities, as then only a small part of the heavens are visible, and that is viewed through the long vista, formed by the lofty buildings which rise above you. When thus seen, the glare of the sun being destroyed, it appears many shades darker than when you observe it in the country.* Even when passing from the streets into one of the large squares of the town, it changes into a perceptibly lighter hue. When you observe it from the narrow streets of the Italian cities, it has much of the deep blue which Byron and other poets describe, and which, from the width of our streets, and the comparatively low buildings which bound them, you will search for in vain in America. Scarcely a day occurs during our summers, when bright white clouds do not appear in various parts of the heaven. Their brilliant folds, which in whiteness yield only to the snow, afford such a contrast to the sky which lies beyond them, that the blue often assumes a shade much resembling the colour of the heavens, when seen from some one of the secondary Alps, mount Brevenet, or the grand St. Bernard, for example. In Italy, during that season, these clouds are rarely visible. You perceive one vast canopy of blue, without any object above you, to enable you to examine it by the power of contrast. When, as is sometimes the case, the heavens are thus spotted with clouds, the blue then assumes a depth of colour, which I have never witnessed in our northern states. If thus beheld and minutely

* The same effect is visible, when you look at the sky through a long tube. It is on this principle, that Flamstead's well was constructed, which, at the depth of one hundred feet, enabled the spectator to behold the stars during the day time.

examined, I believe any individual north of the Roanoke, would be compelled to admit that it is of a deeper tint than our own sky ever assumes. Many of the Italian painters are accused of deepening the blue of their canvass, until it assumes an intensity, which even the sky of Rome never exhibits. Guercino in his picture of Saint Bruno, and Albani in his Madonna with the infant Jesus, in the gallery of Bologna, would undoubtedly be censured for the deep colour they have given to their sky. Still let any one examine it, during one of the few days of summer, when it is spotted with clouds, and he will be convinced that these painters have not transgressed the bounds of truth. The horizon, also, is of a much lighter colour than the zenith. This you see to the greatest advantage, while sailing on the Mediterranean. It then often appears as if a brilliant twilight were mingling the beams of an ascending luminary, with those of the sun. The moon there illumines the heavens to such a degree, that they are perceptibly blue at night. This I have occasionally seen, in our brightest evenings in the United States, but this colour is much less distinct with us than in Italy.

The great charm of an Italian landscape, however, arises from the purity of its atmosphere. From this circumstance, every object on which your eye rests, has a distinctness unknown in any northern latitude. The distant palace, or village, the cliff, island, tower or dome, which rises above the surrounding objects, the monastery hanging on the mountain's side or crowning some lofty eminence, all stand out from the back ground, with a boldness of relief, which you search for in vain with us. I can compare it to nothing which will give you a better idea of it, when contrasted with one of our landscapes, than the first twenty or thirty impressions of an engraving, when examined with the thousandth, after the plate has lost a part of its distinctness, or to the different effect produced on a person slightly near-sighted, when viewing a distant object, with or without his glasses. You discover the same effect at night. The moon in Italy does not appear to move in the heavens as with us, but stands out in strong relief, while the sky seems far beyond it, very much as it is described as appearing in the Caribbean sea. The effect of this great transparency is such, that distant objects appear much nearer than in our own country, leaving on the eye a

perfection of picture, which I have never seen elsewhere. The frequency of the ophthalmia, even as far north as Florence, and the great number of blind persons whom you meet with in Italy, are striking proofs of the comparative brightness of the sun's rays.

The peculiar charm of an Italian landscape, however, is felt, when the sun is approaching the horizon. Our evenings are often intensely beautiful, from the piles of clouds which the sun draws around him, and which he often lights up with a radiance, which an Englishman might almost mistake for a view of a brighter world. Near the Alps, at Venice for example, when the sun retires behind the Friuli mountains, he veils his dying glories with clouds of as gorgeous a colouring, as are ever seen with us. When no summit is near to attract them, the sun of Italy rarely sets in glory, as it usually disappears without a cloud to reflect its beams. But in the rich tints which are thrown over the landscape, he fully compensates the Italians for the loss of our brilliant sunsets. About half an hour before the sun reaches the horizon, a flood of golden light is shed on every object. This soon assumes a rosy tint, like the light blush on a maidens cheek, when it soon changes to a deeper and deeper red. A purple of exquisite softness gradually succeeds it, its hue soon changing to a one of a more intense beauty, which floating over the landscape, transforms every object to this loveliest of all colours. It is at this time that the bay of Naples is seen in all its glory. At this hour the range which bounds it, and Vesuvius the *beau ideal* of mountains, are melted down into a softness which is indescribable. Long after the bay is shaded by the hills of Baiae and Ischia, this purple light floats from the sides and summits of the opposite mountains, as if the sun was unwilling to leave a scene so lovely.*

* An apology is due to the reader for this long digression. The subject, though trite beyond all endurance on the continent, is, I believe, only known to us through the medium of English optics. Had the sky of Italy ever been described by one of my countrymen, I would not here have rambled so far from Germany.

One not accustomed to inquire respecting the distance of the objects at which he is looking, might deny the accuracy of the statements here made, relative to their apparent nearness when seen in Italy. I was deceived myself for months, until my rambles to distant objects, convinced me by the time they occupied, and the fatigue they produced, of the truth of this remark. While

The sky of Germany is decidedly clearer than that of the northern part of France. It is very rare that the outlines of distant objects, seen from the towers of Paris or the elevations near that city, appear distinctly. Here, however, in a bright day, you can see much farther, the heavens are higher and more pure, and the moon sheds a brighter flood of light, than is ever seen north of the Loire. This is strikingly visible during July, August, and September. With us these months are not particularly distinguished for their purity. Here, however, the atmosphere is then so clear, that every object appears in a much bolder relief, than during any other months of the year. It is at this time that the environs of Dresden should be seen. If thus viewed, the recollections of the traveller who has ascended its towers, or climbed the neighbouring hills, will be among the brightest which the cities of Europe have impressed upon his memory.

South of Dresden, at the distance of two miles, you are presented from the ranges of hills which bound the valley of the Elbe, with the finest view of the city, and the distant mountains of Bohemia. This was the scene of one of the last great defeats which the Allies experienced. Napoleon discovering in the distance a large number of officers, immediately ordered fifteen or twenty pieces of artillery to be pointed in that direction. The result was the fall of Moreau. Alexander, who was by his side, caused a monument to be erected to his memory. It is a small block of red granite, four feet in length, by three in breadth. On it is placed a bronze plate, supporting a helmet, sword and wreath, of the same material. It has, as all monuments of the great should have, a short inscription.

Moreau der Held, fiel hier an der Seite Alexander's, den XXVII August, MDCCCXIII.*

lying at the quarantine ground at Messina in 1823, I was looking with a friend at the city of Reggio on the Calabrian coast, and asked him what he supposed to be the distance; he replied four miles. My own estimate had reduced it to three miles. On inquiry, we found it was over ten English miles. While walking near Florence during the spring of 1827 with an American gentleman, I asked him what he thought was the distance of an object we were then regarding. He said in reply, half a mile. The real distance was nearly a mile and a half. Should any one doubt of the accuracy of this opinion, he will be convinced of it, if he will ride in a clear day from Savona to Genoa.

* Moreau, the Hero, fell here by the side of Alexander, the 27th of August, 1813.

I visited this spot with a young Frenchman, who seemed to tread this battle ground with triumph, as he thought of the victory gained here by his countrymen. As it was one of the last acts of that terrible drama, on which a Frenchman's eye would repose with pleasure, I was not surprised at the animation of his countenance, as he exclaimed; here it was that the rogues ran." "*Ces fripons, ces coquins, ces autres chiens*, here they ran." As we came to the monument of Moreau, he exclaimed, "*ici repose le Traitre.*" I had so often heard this officer called a traitor while residing at Paris, that the contemptuous expression he assumed, and the emphasis with which he pronounced the word "*traitre*," did not surprise me. When Frenchmen glory in Moreau, my own countrymen may be proud of Benedict Arnold. The one fought against the "Usurper," who by the way had at least as good a claim to his throne, as any monarch in Europe, since it was given to him by an almost unanimous vote of the nation; the other against "the Rebels," to defend the rights of his "legitimate sovereign." The "Usurper" fell, and Moreau is called a hero; "the Rebels" triumphed, and Arnold, even by those for whom he fought, is regarded only as a traitor. Had America fallen in the struggle, Englishmen would have applied the same epithet they now give to Arnold, to the names of Washington, Adams, Hancock, and Henry.

The *Rüstkammer*, which you are permitted to see, after paying an exhorbitant fee, is regarded as one of the greatest curiosities of Dresden. It presents every variety of armour from the age of tilting and tournament, to the present time. Swords and helmets of every form, and pistols and guns of every pattern, from the invention of fire arms to the commencement of the last century, fill the shelves and walls of the saloons of this armory. Here is a pistol made by Berthold Schwarz, the celebrated Franciscan monk, whose discovery produced such a revolution in modern warfare. The fire is produced by the friction of a file. Here you see rooms filled with statues clad in the armour of the electors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, knights armed for the tournament, and their horses covered with appropriate trappings. The helmet and armour of Gustavus Adolphus, which he wore the day before the battle of Lutzen, are also here, and the latter still bears the marks of a ball that bounded from it. The sword and hat of Peter the

Great, the sword and belt of Charles XII of Sweden, with the pistol which he had at Frederickshall when he fell; the armour of Augustus II. or Augustus the Strong, as the Saxons always call him, from the Herculean feats he performed, and which every one who places his helmet on his own brow will believe without hesitation, are among the most interesting objects of the early part of the last century. The saddle, on which Napoleon sat at the battle of Dresden, is the only object that reminds you of the great events which have occurred within our recollection.

Every traveller who visits Dresden, must examine the *Grüne Gewölbe*, or never be pardoned by the Saxons, notwithstanding the keeper taxes you four rix dollars for conducting you through the rooms where the regalia of the monarch are deposited. Should you be fortunate enough to travel with a party of six, for more than this number are not admitted at the same time, you can see this, the *Rüstkammer*, and a few other objects of curiosity, without finding your entrance fees sensibly exhausting your purse. The gallery is closed during six months of the year, when a similar fee is required for a second admission. This forms a striking contrast to the liberality of the French government, and to those of Italy, whose gallaries and palaces are opened to strangers at all seasons of the year. In the *Grüne Gewölbe*, you discover diamonds enough to satisfy the vainest heart, and to dazzle the eyes of all the monarchists of Europe. Here is one weighing forty-four carats, the fifth in size among all those which have yet been discovered. There is another almost as large, of a green colour, which is said to be unique. Others still, which are yellow and blue, interest you as objects of curiosity. One or two of the rooms are adorned with ornaments of ivory, the sculpture of which, though inferior to that which is seen in the ducal palace at Florence, exhibits much talent, and had it been exercised in a different manner, would have left something worthy of being remembered. The suite of rooms in which the ornaments are kept, contains a profusion of gold and jewels, dazzling to the eyes of such a monarch as Louis XIV. or Charles II. and their courtiers, but affording to the good old king who now sways the sceptre of Saxony, not a hundredth part of the pleasure that he realises in beholding the prosperity and happiness of his subjects.

The present monarch of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, is the oldest sovereign in Europe. He was born in 1750, and succeeded his father in 1763, having reigned 64 years. He is more beloved by his subjects, than any monarch on the continent, and often when speaking of him, they call him our good old king. He is a Catholic, while only one in twenty-eight of his subjects profess that religion. In 1696, Augustus the Strong, embraced the Catholic religion, in order to acquire the crown of Poland. Since that period, the Saxon monarchs have all belonged to that church. Though ardent in his attachment to the religion in which he was educated, he has none of the spirit of proselytism. His subjects even say, that a renunciation of Protestantism is no recommendation to their king, and that those who have done it apparently to gain his smiles, have received no reward for their apostacy. The Saxons lament that their court is of a different religion from the great mass of the nation; still, so honourable has been the administration of Frederick, and so much has he acted like a father to his people, that they would not exchange him for the best Protestant king in Europe. Though he has pursued this independent course, and probably, from design, has never said or done any thing to influence his people to adopt his own sentiments, still many of his courtiers have embraced the religion of the monarch, and through their influence many of the citizens have renounced Protestantism.

The division of Saxony, was a very severe blow to the old king.* He protested against it, informing his subjects. that it was the result of a compulsion, to which he was forced to yield. As he was kept a prisoner in Berlin for a long period after the battle of Leipzig, notwithstanding his troops embraced the first opportunity that was presented them, of uniting against the French, he saw that the loss of a part of his dominions, or a division of the whole between Austria and Prussia, was the alternative; and he accordingly signed the compact entered into by the powers of Europe, at Vienna. The ardent sympathies of his people, and the reluctance with which the inhabitants of that part of Saxony which was ceded to Prussia, received a new sovereign, were strong evidence of the

* The Queen, who is two years younger than the King, is still living; they were married in 1769.

wisdom and equity of his government, and must have given him real consolation when reflecting on this act of injustice. Though now the monarch of one of the smallest kingdoms of Europe, he has the pleasure of remembering, that the inhabitants are more cultivated, and possess a superior character, to any equal number of subjects on the continent. When he looks around him, and beholds the poverty of Prussia, the semicivilization of the Russians, the physical character of the Austrians, and contrasts them with the prosperous and intelligent Saxons, he finds at least in times of peace, a satisfaction, which his neighbours may look for in vain. I can scarcely conceive of a more enviable situation, unless that of Washington should be excepted,

> "——— Whose was the all cloudless glory
> Of having freed his country,"

than that of a monarch, who like Frederick Augustus, can look upon his people with the feelings of a parent, and discover wherever he goes, that they regard him with the strongest affection; who in looking around him, sees prosperity blessing the labours of his industrious subjects, and finds them continually rising in the scale of existence; who in traversing his dominions, learns that there is not a village where the means of instruction are not provided for every peasant, and that scarce an individual exists, who has reached adult years, that has not availed himself of the opportunities which have been afforded to him, to gain knowledge; who, at the same time, perceives a literary enthusiasm and research among the enlightened men of his nation, by which the boundaries of the human mind are enlarged, and discovers that the happiness of the world has been greatly augmented by the institutions he has founded and patronised, remembering as he does, that prayers are continually ascending from the hearts of his subjects, that he may long be continued to them, as the greatest earthly blessing which they can receive.*

The king is ardently attached to the Catholic religion, and at public worship exhibits a devotion rarely seen among the monarchs of Europe. His great liberality to Lutheranism, for he does not believe that there is but one road to heaven, has prevented his

* This good old King died a few months after the date of this letter.

peculiar sentiments from lessening the attachment of his subjects. In fact, few of these appear to be desirous that he should change them. You must not infer from this remark, that they do not feel the same attachment to Protestantism, which distinguished their ancestors during the Reformation. They would rejoice to see a king who believed as they do; but still they think that their sovereign is so sincere in the creed of his church, that he could not change his sentiments with sincerity; and that such a step would consequently greatly lessen his happiness.

For some months, a violent controversy has existed in Saxony between the Catholic and Protestant divines, which has awakened much of the mutual spirit of hostility, that existed here three centuries ago. The Protestants accuse the Catholics of making use of every means, however dishonourable, of gaining proselytes; and do not hesitate to say, that papal gold has been distributed in many instances, to promote this object. The clergymen of the Lutheran church of this city and Leipzig, thunder from their pulpits against the dangers which threaten Saxony. Sermon after sermon is published, and edition after edition appears. Even professor Krug, the most distinguished philosopher of Leipzig, lays aside his speculations, and arms himself with the pen of controversy, to put the Saxons on their guard. To these attacks the Catholic bishop replies, with all the arguments which creeds and councils can furnish. Towards this theatre of sectarian conflict, the eyes of all seem to be turned, with the hope of driving the enemy from the field. In Leipzig, professor Tschzirner publishes book after book, and pamphlet after pamphlet against papacy; and by his research and logic, gains, if we may believe the protestants, a most triumphant victory. The poor bishop, for there is but one here, finds it no easy matter to read all the works which are fired at him; and still more difficult to answer them. He, however, replies from time to time, warning his flock of the dangers of heresy; and by pointing to the flames which are enkindled to receive such as dare to disbelieve, he is enabled to keep his sheep from straggling too far from the right way. Some of these pamphlets which I have read, abound with argument; and all of them with strong feeling.

This excitement is not confined to Saxony. Before leaving Berlin, a number of the Prussians had embraced the Catholic religion, and the public pulse began to beat powerfully. The prince of Anhalt Köthen, with his wife, and her brother, had made a public profession of their belief in the pope, as the spiritual governor of the church of Christ. She is a natural daughter of the late king of Prussia, and from him received the title of duchess of Brandenberg. The present monarch, though not publicly treating her with the respect shown to the legitimate children of his father, manifested in private all the affection of a brother. He became exceedingly attached to her; and has always felt an unusual interest in her happiness, when we consider the nature of the relationship. Hearing that her mind was troubled on this subject, he wrote her a very long letter, requesting her not to take this step without consulting him; to which she assented. Her renunciation of Protestantism under these circumstances, gave him not a little pain; and excited much curiosity in Berlin, relative to the probable conduct of the king. Her brother, who had made a similar promise, received orders after his apostasy, as was reported, not to appear again in the metropolis, where he would not be allowed to remain. Copies of the letter of the king appeared in the circles of that city, the week before I left it, where they were perused with great interest by the inhabitants. Since that time it has been published; and has given rise to more speculation, than any production which has appeared for a long period. It is a curiosity, even in these days of controversy, to see a monarch entering the field of sectarianism with pen in hand, to defend the doctrines of Lutheranism; strongly reminding one of the work of Henry the Eighth, for which he received the title of Defender of the Faith.

The library of Dresden is one of the most valuable in Germany, and in the present monarch it has found a most munificent patron. This noble collection, at the succession of Frederick Augustus in 1763, contained but seventy thousand volumes. Soon after he ascended the throne, he purchased the library of count Henry von Bünau, containing 42,000 volumes, and a few years afterwards, that of count Brühl, consisting of 62,000 more. Since that period it has been much augmented by the liberal appropriations which he has made to it. It is not rich in manuscript, of which there

are less than three thousand, but in its two hundred and forty thousand volumes, you discover most of the great literary efforts of the human mind. It occupies the second story of the Japanese palace, where it was removed in the year 1788, and is arranged, according to the different subjects, in twenty-two of the saloons and rooms of this edifice. One is devoted to manuscripts, another to geography; one of the saloons and five of the rooms to history the history of literature, &c. Oriental literature, works on the fine arts, romances, lexicography, medicine, &c., have each a separate apartment. The works on theology fill several, among which, one room is devoted exclusively to the writers on Lutheranism. Though the library of Göttingen can boast of a more valuable historical collection, it is inferior to this in works on classical literature. In this department, few libraries can compare with it. It contains many of the earliest editions of the Grecian and Roman writers, among which are a Homer, printed in 1488, Æsop, in 1480, Euripides, in 1496, Strabo, in 1472, Herodotus, in 1474, Horace, in 1471, &c. &c. The manuscripts, unless some of the 500 in oriental literature should be excepted, are none of them older than the ninth century. Among the German manuscripts are many unpublished poems of Hans Sachs, and several volumes of the letters of Luther and Melanchthon. Here are also many written by Grotius, Pope Sixtus, V. &c.

The library is open every day, except the Sabbath, for consultation, and all the citizens are permitted to resort to it. Students, and many of the inhabitants, are allowed to take books to their houses, with almost the same freedom as from a circulating library. Two such institutions as the gallery and library of Dresden, you will easily suppose, exert a most auspicious influence on the taste and intellect of the inhabitants, and to this influence is this metropolis not a little indebted, for the superior cultivation of its citizens to those of any other town in Germany.

The arrangement of the library is very simple, and perfectly intelligible. Even a stranger would be able, in a very short period, to lay his hand on any work which is to be found on its shelves. The saloons are very large, and decorated with great taste. In this respect I have seen nothing but the Vatican to compare with it. What a noble monument of liberality has Frederick Augustus presented to his people. How much superior is such a legacy to

the monuments and arches of triumph, erected in Paris during the reigns of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon, in commemoration of their victories. Had Frederick done nothing else to endear him to his subjects, it would be said, that he had not lived in vain. The influence of this library in elevating the character of the Saxon nation, will be felt for ages. Such a one in the centre of the United States, like the fountains of Syria, would cause the almost literary desert of our country, to rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Dresden is the residence of many of the German literati. Here are more distinguished poets than in any other city, as well as scores of rhymers. Though it has never given birth to any of the very celebrated poets of Germany, except Körner, it has been the residence at different times of many of them. Among these, Tieck, who now resides here, is one of the most distinguished poets and critics of the present age. During his residence at Jena, he became acquainted with A. W. and F. Schlegel, and united at a subsequent period with the former, in editing the *Musenalmanack*, for the year 1802. He and his coadjutor, soon appeared among the most distinguished critics of the age, and ultimately placed themselves at the head of the romantic school of Germany. A literary war soon arose in this country on this subject, in which they are generally thought to have gained the triumph. Tieck published several volumes of poetry, as early as 1799. Afterwards he presented to his countrymen an admirable translation of Don Quixote, and, at a subsequent period, one of old English plays. Within a few years he has written a number of novels, among which *die Gemälde*, and *die Verlobung*, have gained him great reputation.

Though these works, in unison with many others which he has published, have placed him among the most distinguished writers of his country, his friends, and, it may be said, with truth, all Germany, are anxiously looking for the appearance of his great work on Shakspeare, to which he has devoted most of his time for the last twenty years. His enthusiasm for the great dramatist is not surpassed by that of his friend, A. W. Schlegel, in his work on dramatic literature, or by Goethe, in his Wilhelm Meister. He informed me, that he not only considered him the greatest genius that had ever lived, but that there was a very great distance

between his and every other mind. This work which is nearly finished, if we may believe his countrymen, will exhibit not only the most intimate knowledge of the English poet, but a much more complete view of English literature, during the age of Shakspeare, and those which precede it, than has ever appeared. Many who know the immense research, and superior critical powers of Tieck, are looking with great anxiety for its appearance, confident as they are, that it will be a national triumph to Germany over the critics of England, who have attempted to analyze the poetic character of the bard of Avon.

In preparing this work, he did not think it was enough to simply study Shakspeare, and the age in which he flourished. He has not only made himself familiar with the works of all the poets who were his contemporaries, but of those also who preceded him, from the commencement of English poetry. To understand the obsolete allusions of his plays, he has become intimately acquainted, as far as it is possible at this remote period, with the manners and customs, the state of society, the amusements, and the legends of different periods of English history. To feel like an Englishman, and to imbibe the national feeling towards Shakspeare, (for England with her separation from the continent, has retained even to this day a distinct character,) he visited Great Britain a few years since, and passed nine months in studying the character of the people, and in tracing out those few vestiges of a former age, which still exist, in the amusements and conversation of the peasantry, and of other classes of society. Even this did not appear to him to be an adequate preparation for his work. To be able to compare Shakspeare's mind with those of the great poets of other nations, he has become so familiar with the literature of the south of Europe, that in listening to his conversation, you would often believe that he had made the poetry of these countries the great object of his pursuits, did you not discover by his illustrations, that he was equally familiar with that of the north. From his thorough knowledge of modern as well as ancient poetry, as well as from his susceptibility to the sublime and beautiful in the natural and ideal world, his conversation is more interesting than that of almost any man I have yet seen in Germany. His views on criticism are more profound, his intellectual

horizon more extended, and the objects of beauty and grandeur which it embraces are more numerous, than you often find among the intellectually great of any age. During a long residence in many of the capitals of Europe, he has lost all that reserve, if he ever possessed it, which is so often observed among the literati of this country. His manners are frank, united with a polish, rarely seen among the *savans* of Europe. His knowledge of the world gives him the full command of all his powers. With a fluency of utterance which cannot be surpassed, and with a perfect command of his rich and nervous vernacular language, he enters into every literary subject with an enthusiasm that gives a peculiar life and beauty to his conversation, and which secures the intense interest of every auditor. His countenance, at the same time, varies with every new thought, and in his eye and gestures, you discover an animation and force of expression, which such an intellectual enthusiasm as he exhibits could alone awaken.

Tieck, at the present time, fills the office of *reader* to the queen of Saxony. He is reputed to be the best reader in Germany; no one, not even the most distinguished players, being able to modulate their voices with the same taste, and express every passion of dramatic poetry with the same eloquence as himself. To gratify his friends and others, he often reads Shakspeare to small circles assembled at his house to listen to him. I was so fortunate as to be present when he read "Much Ado about Nothing." He merely mentioned the names of the characters at the commencement of the different scenes, adapting his voice to each with an accuracy, that left you never in doubt as to the *dramatis personæ* who were speaking. His voice has great compass, an easy modulation, and a power which it is difficult to rival, even on the stage. The characters of the play became, under his enthusiastic elocution, real beings, and so animated were his gestures, and so marked was his face with the ever-varying expression of the characters, that it was no difficult thing to believe that you were listening to a theatrical representation. Had he embraced the profession of a player, I am convinced that he would have risen far superior to any one now living in Germany. Several of the distinguished performers on the stages of Dresden and Vienna, were present at this

perusal, to which they listened with the greatest interest, and with the strongest marks of approbation.

Tieck is now the director of the theatre of Dresden. Since he has filled this office, it has acquired a reputation far superior to what it formerly enjoyed. The small number of able players in Germany, as well as the limited resources of the government of Sáxony, to which I may add the strong attachment of the inhabitants of the metropolis to the opera, have prevented the theatre here from acquiring as great a reputation as those of Berlin and Vienna. Without adequate means, even the instructions and spirit of Tieck, cannot elevate the stage to the character it exhibited in the days of Iffland. He told me that the theatre was losing its reputation throughout Germany, in consequence of a corrupt taste which was introduced a few years since, and which was very prevalent at the present time. This he greatly lamented, as he viewed the stage, when properly conducted, as a most powerful means of elevating the intellectual character of his countrymen.

Among the living poets of Germany, Tiedge, who also resides in this city, has a very distinguished reputation. While in the university of Halle, he devoted his time to the study of law, but his love for poetry prevented his subsequently pursuing it as a profession. Madame de Stedern, whose children he instructed, left him at her death a legacy, by means of which he was enabled to devote his time exclusively to his poetical studies. His *Urania*, which appeared in 1801, established his reputation in this country, and enrolled his name among the number of national poets. The "elegies and miscellaneous poems," which he published about the year 1810, met with universal applause. Many of these, as well as his lyrical poems, have been set to music, and have become among the most popular in the language. For many years he has resided with the *Frau von der Recke*, at whose house the stranger will meet one of the most enlightened circles of Germany. He has recently composed a poem on Greece, to excite the benevolence of his countrymen in behalf of that oppressed and suffering nation. It is written with great vigour, and exhibits a force of language and thought, rarely seen in the efforts of a poet of seventy-three years of age. The first part of this poem has been published for the benefit of the Greeks. I found him surrounded by pamphlets,

ornaments, &c. which he was disposing of to his visitors in behalf of a people, whose sufferings have only been equalled by the heroism they recently exhibited at Missolonghi. It was a beautiful object to see a poet on the verge of the grave, rekindling the fire of his genius, and speaking with the enthusiasm of youth, on a subject so noble and so dear to every philanthropist. What are you doing in the United States for Greece? he asked me, with great ardour. I made as favourable a reply as was consistent with truth, which evidently did not convey the anticipated information.

The excitement in behalf of the Greeks is universal in the north of Germany. Concerts are held in most of the large towns for this object, to which the opera singers are offering their services, with a liberality which does them honour. A splendid concert has just been given here, the receipts from which amounted to some thousand dollars. Dresden has contributed to this object about twelve thousand rix dollars, and subscriptions are coming in daily. The week that I left Berlin, an advertisement appeared in one of the papers, signed by one of the physicians of the king, and by two of his chaplains, addressed to the friends of the sick and suffering Greeks, informing the public that his majesty had consented that subscriptions should be received for them throughout the kingdom. Frederick William, to encourage his people, subscribed twelve hundred Frederick d'ors, nearly six thousand dollars. This example of their sovereign was imitated in all the large towns of his dominions. The recent fall of Missolonghi, (towards which fortress the eyes of all Germany had been turned for a long period,) united to the heroic defence of its garrison, had previously awakened the sympathies of the Prussians to an unusual degree. When this proposition was made, it was hailed by the inhabitants with the greatest enthusiasm. Wherever places for receiving subscriptions were appointed, the result exceeded the expectations of the monarch and the people. Between two and three hundred thousand rix dollars have been already subscribed in Prussia; and from every part of the country, offerings are continually received at the capital. Such a national ardour in behalf of suffering humanity, speaks volumes in praise of that nation, when we recollect her poverty.

This feeling was not confined to the north of Germany. The

same spirit was visible at Munich, and in other parts of Bavaria. Its present monarch generously gave forty thousand guldens at one time, and twenty thousand at another, a sum which is equal to between twenty-eight and twenty-nine thousand dollars. The Berlin Gazettes, some months after the above was written, stated the whole amount received by the Greek Committee of Prussia, at three hundred thousand rix dollars, or more than two hundred and twenty thousand Spanish.

The same feeling has been visible in France. The receipts of the Greek Committee of Paris, during the year 1825, and one half of 1826, (vid. Galignani's Messenger for Feb. 13, 1827,) amounted to 1,472,540 francs. During the last quarter of 1826, they received 969,725 francs. Of this sum, 381,125 francs came from the Netherlands, Holland, and the Rhine. Deducting this amount, there were more than four hundred thousand dollars subscribed in France, and sent to Greece, in two years. In this generous exhibition of sympathy for an afflicted people, I trust that those of my countrymen who are accustomed to speak disrespectfully of the French nation, will discover something besides levity and vanity.

LETTER XXI.

Dresden, Aug. 1826.

There are few objects which so strongly convince an American, rambling in Europe, that he is in another country, as the galleries of paintings which he beholds in most of the capitals on the continent. This subject has been rarely introduced in my letters; not because I felt uninterested in it, but from the difficulty of giving you an accurate idea of the pictures themselves, since probably not half a dozen even of the second rate efforts of the great artists of Europe exist in the United States, to which I can refer you as a means of comparison. Of the eloquence of this art, no one who has studied these galleries can doubt; and if he has ever examined those of Rome, Florence, Venice or Dresden, he will discover bodied forth, a grandeur of design, a loveliness of form, and a beauty of colouring, which on our side of the Atlantic are found only in the ideal world. The narratives which the sacred historians have so beautifully related; the great events which have agitated the ancient or modern world, the fables of Grecian mythology, and the visions of modern poesy, are represented with a talent and beauty, which astonish the beholder. In roaming through these galleries, you see Patriarchs in all the dignity of their characters as fathers of their patriarchal families, Angels embodied in a beauty which seems superior to decay, Prophets whose faces are glowing with inspiration; and in the Transfiguration, and the Madonna di San Sisto, of Raphael, and the Assumption of the Virgin, of Titian, (the three greatest efforts of the pencil on canvass,) the countenances and attitude of Christ and of his mother, are almost equal to any pictures which the imagination has formed, after perusing their histories in the New Testament. In beholding the monuments of genius which these

galleries contain, you are transported far beyond the dull state of present existence, converse with those who have taught us how to live and how to die; and feel at least for a time, as if you would follow them in their bright career to a better world. I know of no uninspired poetry, or narrative, that speaks in more eloquent language, than the pencils of some of these artists; and in the brightest views that I can form of the appearance of our Saviour, or of the Virgin, I rarely if ever conceive of more ravishing loveliness of expression, of more heavenly beauty, of a brighter beaming of an immortal countenance, or of forms and attitudes more exquisite, than in the wonderful compositions which have been specified. Here is the genuine triumph of the pencil; and you can almost believe for the moment, that the mantle of Inspiration has fallen upon the artist, and that he has caught a faint vision of the glory of a brighter world. Many who have never seen the full power of historic painting, and whose observation has been confined to the galleries of the United States, may consider these remarks as wild enthusiasm; but no one who is familiarly acquainted with the excellence of Italian art, can fail to acknowledge that the pencil has a power, of which he had never before formed a conception. When examining works of this character, or those where the actions of illustrious benefactors of the human race are delineated, the sentiment is readily admitted that this art might accomplish much for the benefit of mankind. On turning your eyes from such subjects however, you often behold in the next picture, the pencil prostituted to influence an illicit imagination. Venus drawn in all the licentiousness of her character, and the impure stories of heathen fable, appear by the side of the Prophet or Martyr, who is just receiving his heavenly crown. On the same wall where you discover representations of that Being who forbade the indulgence of an impure thought, you see forms that are sylphlike, and drawn in the most licentious attitudes; thus leading the mind from the contemplation of moral beauty, to that which will betray.

In most of the pictures which I have seen of the assumption of the Virgin, the artists have attempted a representation of the Deity. Though the German painters have not so frequently made this attempt as those of Italy, still there are few galleries where

you will not discover instances of this presumption, and where you do not feel the utter powerlessness of the effort. When I first saw representations of this nature, they gave me unmingled pain, and most of those which I have since seen, have produced the same effect, as they fall infinitely below the ideas that we form of the glory of that Being, who said, "let there be light, and there was light." Painters justify themselves on the ground, that Inspiration has drawn the Creator with the attributes of humanity, that Daniel for instance describes "the Ancient of days, with garments white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool." They consider their art as highly poetical, and feel authorized to use the same boldness as the Prophet. This argument does not relieve me from the pain I almost invariably feel, when viewing such delineations. Titian in the picture of the Virgin to which I have already referred, has embodied after our own humble conceptions, more of the attributes of the Deity, than all other pictures that I have seen, and has with astonishing beauty, exhibited his great attribute, love.

The gallery of Dresden is among the most celebrated of Europe; indeed, it has no equals except those of Florence and the Louvre; and the latter of these, since it has been deprived of much of its stolen glory, is considered by many as inferior to that of this city. Among its fourteen hundred paintings, you discover the names of the most distinguished artists of every school and age, since the revival of painting in Italy. In the paintings of that country it is surprisingly rich, as it contains nearly four hundred of the works of her greatest artists. A painter from that country could hardly fail expressing his astonishment, while examining this gallery in the centre of Europe, to discover so much to remind him of his native land, and of the great names in which his countrymen glory. To Augustus III. who purchased the celebrated collection of the Duke of Modena in 1745, as well as very many admirable pictures in the larger cities of Italy and in other countries, the inhabitants of Dresden are principally indebted for this bright ornament of the metropolis. The *chef d' oeuvres* of this collection escaped the fate which attended those of the other galleries of Europe, during the revolutionary struggle; as the King, apprized of their probable fate should they remain, had them re-

moved to his celebrated fortress Königstein, which the French could never conquer.

To see Corregio's genius you must not go to Parma, for his frescoes there are almost entirely destroyed; and the few prŏductions of his pencil now in the gallery of Maria Louisa, are second and third rate pieces, in comparison with those which you behold here. His "Night" has been universally considered the greatest effort of his pencil, even before the colours of the dome of Parma's cathedral had faded. *Die heilige Nacht*, "the Holy Night," as your guide calls this picture, has attracted many artists to Dresden; and its reputation is so universal in Germany, that by not a small number of persons, it is always associated with the name of the Saxon metropolis. The infant Jesus is lying in a crib or something similar to it, while the Virgin with her arms supporting him, is looking down upon him with the strongest expression of maternal love, and a feeling of devotion, which such a mother would be supposed to exhibit, when looking at such a son. From the body of the infant proceeds a flood of glory illuminating every object, and giving a most beautiful relief to the prominent forms of the canvass. The light, which he sheds upon her countenance and on the surrounding objects, is more exquisit, and the *chiaro oscuro* more beautifully distinct, than in any other effort of the pencil. The shepherds in the back ground who regard the infant Saviour, do not evince that admiration and wonder, which one would have anticipated, but their faces have more of the glare of stupidity, than it is easy to believe any countenance could exhibit, in beholding such a scene. Here are also several other paintings of Corregio, which exhibit his fine colouring in the happiest manner. Among all his females, both here and in the gallery of Parma, you discover but one expression, but one form of countenance. There is a want of intellectual beauty in all his Madonnas, and in all his female faces that I have seen, except his Diana, in the convent of the monks of San Paolo at Parma. As this goddess was, at least until she saw Endymion, an emblem of chastity, it is not surprising that the monks should have adorned their walls with the picture of one, whose example they so universally imitated. Her face in this fresco is totally superior to any effort of his pencil I have met with. It is lighted up with all that loveliness, in which she appeared to the

eye of the Grecian poet, when he delineated the beauty of an immortal.

Raphael's celebrated picture of the *Madonna di San Sisto*, has been universally regarded as the greatest ornament of this gallery, since the year 1754, when Augustus III. purchased it of the monks of one of the convents of Piacenza. It has been so often described, that I will not trouble you with a perusal of its thousandth delineation. After the Transfiguration, this is the greatest effort of his genius. The face of the Virgin is one of the loveliest conceptions of the minds, and is not surpassed in beauty by the Eve of Milton. The face of the infant Jesus has the intellect of an immortal, beaming through the features of childhood. It is only supassed by that of the two young cherubs below, whose eyes are brighter and more glowing with intelligence, than any which are the work of even Raphael's pencil. Most of the Italian painters, as well as those of the north of Europe, represent their angels and cherubs as infants. Rarely do they seem to be more than two years of age, though in a few instances, as in Titian's Assumption, you discover one or more of them in the form of a young boy, who is just entering his teens. Sometimes you see wreaths of them surrounding the Madonna, or a saint in glory, or some fifty heads just rising above a cloud, and looking down like so many babies, on a pope, or cardinal, or monk, who is performing a miracle, to demonstrate the truth of his religion. These infantine faces are drawn, I suppose, to convey the idea of immortal youth, but the impression is usually that of childhood, instead of an intellect which has been expanding through ages. When I turn my eyes to Guido's great picture of Michael chaining Satan in the church of the Capuchin's at Rome, and see the etherial immortality of the Archangel, in his form that strength which seems a stranger to disease, and which is superior to decay, united with a grace and beauty which make criticism speechless, I cannot but feel that the distance is vast between so illustrious a being, and young angels or cherubs, who remind you more of so many young cupids, than of immortal spirits bowing before the throne of God.

The most popular sacred subject with European painters is the Virgin with the infant Saviour. Of this you will find some scores in the gallery of Dresden. It is within the bounds of truth to

assert, that I have seen more than five hundred such paintings since I have been in Europe. After this come the Annunciation to the Virgin; Christ giving the keys of Heaven and Hell to Peter, of which the popes, succeeding to the supremacy of the Apostle, have taken good care that their flock should daily see some delineation. Mary Magdalen with a skull as an emblem of death, which she is steadfastly regarding. The miracles of saints, and the deaths and martyrdom of those who died, testifying their faith in the Catholic religion. Among the last, Saint Sebastian appears every where. He has a species of ubiquity, at least in Europe. In almost every church south of the Alps, you see him dying; again he meets you in the Tyrol every few miles, either on canvass, or in the form of a statue, hewed out of some of the oaks or pines which adorn the mountains of that country. So frequently does one see this martyr expiring before him, that he can not avoid wishing, that he did not stand so high on the Catholic calendar. He haunts you wherever you go, and could you believe in material omnipresence, you might mistake him for a good or evil genius, presiding over your destinies. On the walls of the gallery of Dresden, these subjects appear quite as often as in those of other countries, and clearly mark the limited extent of that horizon which circumscribed the view of the artists, and still more the influence of the Catholic religion on the art itself. After subjects of this character, the stories of heathen mythology and ancient history, hold the most prominent places in this gallery. These with the village and domestic scenes of the Flemish school, with here and there a landscape of Claude, or Salvator Rosa, are those which principally arrest your attention.

Among all the rambles which a traveller can enjoy in the north of Germany, there is none which is so much celebrated as the Saxon Switzerland. "Have you seen the Switzerland of Saxony," is the question which every one of your acquaintances in Dresden puts to you, before you have been here a week. "You must visit it," he tells you in reply to your answer in the negative. "I hope you will not leave this country until you have seen our Switzerland," says another. "You have of course visited our Alps?" says a third. To avoid the commiseration which always flows from your negative reply, you order a carriage, and tell the

driver to conduct you to this fairy scenery, looking neither to the right nor the left.

Leaving Dresden, you roll along on the left bank of the Elbe, and at the distance of six miles cross that stream, nearly opposite the palace of Pillnitz, the summer residence of the king. This chateau, which is a blending of different styles of architecture. from China to Italy, is one of those objects which I shall leave to future travellers to describe; because I can not with my pen delineate that which is indescribable. Though in its architecture it does not compare with most of the royal residences of Europe, it can boast of one of the loveliest views, which monarchs have ever beheld. To the traveller, a century hence, it will present a political interest, which belongs to few palaces. The declaration of the celebrated congress, which assembled here in 1791, for the purpose of checking the progress of the French Revolution, gave rise to a series of events, which in magnitude, and in the interest which they excited during more than twenty years, have had no parallel in the history of Europe. Leopold and Frederick William II. knew little the power of that spirit, which they attempted to curb. Their successors who were present on this occasion, have had abundant reason to lament, that their fathers roused the sleeping lion.

A few miles beyond Pillnitz you leave your carriage, which proceeds by a circuitous route to Schandau, and taking a guide soon enter the Switzerland of Saxony. The first object to which he conducts you, is a precipice of between two and three hundred feet, down which about thirty years since, a man named Hartmann, threw himself into the stream which flows beneath, without meeting that fate which all flesh is heir to. This somnambulist, for it was in his sleep that he took this leap, has endeavoured to perpetuate this event by an inscription in German rhyme, in which he informs you, that "to God, the friend of man, and to his physician, he was indebted for his recovery." Your guide, and all that class of idlers, who haunt objects of resort in Europe, swear to its truth without winking, leaving you, for the time at least, all but convinced of its reality.

Having left Hartmann's rock behind us, we followed our guide down a succession of winding steps, into a deep ravine, bounded

by precipices, which rise to the height of eighty or a hundred feet. They gradually narrow, until they are rarely more than twenty, and often only ten feet apart. Through this winding channel, we walked some four or five miles, with nothing but the voice of our guide, as he related his marvellous stories, to disturb the almost eternal silence which reigns here. A cross, and a name here and there cut in the rocks, reminded us of the deaths of those who, from time to time, have fallen into this abyss. One of these bears the date of the seventeenth century.

After a ramble of several hours, we arrived at the Bastey, which is considered the finest view of Saxon Switzerland. On a projecting rock hanging over the precipice which supports it, you discover, nearly a thousand feet below, the Elbe meandering through the loveliest valley, even of Saxony. Königstein, Pfaffenstein, and Lilienstein, three lofty mountains, crowned with columnar precipices of rock, rise from the plain above every other object. The mountains of Bohemia are in the distance, just lifting their blue outline above the horizon. The rocks around the Bastey, are of the most singular forms. They are composed of a light gray sandstone, which easily yields to the action of water. The dissolving snows, and the summer torrents which have been formed by rain falling on this celebrated region, have worked their way through the rocks, till they have assumed the "mockery of art." Here columns are piled upon each other, with all the regularity of the basaltic formations; again, single rocks which have been separated by these torrents from the matrix, rise many hundred feet, often with a breadth and thickness of less than one-twentieth part of their altitude. Now they are attached to the mountain mass at their base, affording a long narrow line of bright sky between them and the rock to which they formerly belonged; again they stand alone, or are here and there united to a neighbouring precipice by a line of stone, which is rapidly wearing away. The *Kleine Gans*, a semi-ellipse of many hundred feet outline, which is at a short distance from the Bastey, gives you a most striking exhibition of the action of the water on this soft stone. Here these rocks are heaped upon each other to a great altitude, rising in columns smooth and irregular, now in the form of cylinders or towers, again jagged and angular, till they present all

that wild variety, which you meet with in the descriptions of fairy land. At the distance of a few miles, the mountain of Gemmerigstein elevates its cliffs in the form of towers and battlements, resembling the feudal castles which crown so many of the hills of Germany. The whole of this view is so wild, and so unlike any thing you have ever seen before, that it requires very little effort to believe yourself in the vicinity of the residence of some of the giants of Spenser or Ariosto.

We arrived at Schandau about sun-set, after having passed through the Wolf's Den, over the Devil's Bridge, through wild ravines, and up lofty heights, where solitude loves to dwell. The Devil, in every country, has had a peculiar attachment to this species of architecture, leaving his followers the privilege of raising temples to his praise. In our morning's ramble, we entered the Devil's Kitchen, where some of my German companions shouted with a voice loud enough to have ensured a repast, had the cook not been absent. He seems long since to have deserted this his former abode, for it now resembles any thing but a refectory. This is the only country I have seen, where his Satanic majesty had a residence of this description, or where he was obliged to provide as well as to prepare all the viands for his table.

Schandau is one of the small watering places of Germany, to which few persons resort, as the fame of Carlsbad and Töplitz, attract most of the idlers and invalids of this part of the continent. We found some forty or fifty Germans and foreigners here assembled, more than half of whom, like ourselves, were rambling through Saxon Switzerland. It lies in a small valley, on the right bank of the Elbe, and contains but two or three thousand inhabitants.

The next morning we again took our seats in the carriage, and after riding a few miles by the side of a lofty eminence, whose projecting precipices, in several instances, were suspended over us as we passed beneath, we alighted to ascend the *Kühstall* mountain. This elevation derived its name from the opening on its summit, where the Saxon peasantry, during the thirty years' war, concealed their cows, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Austrian soldiers. Hence they gave this place the name of

the cow-house, which has since become that of the mountain. Tradition has preserved the narratives of many of the heroic actions which were performed in this Alpine region, during that period of devastation and ruin, with all of which your guide lessens the fatigue of your upward path, by relating to you the stories of his ancestors. The *Kühstall*, which you reach after a gentle ascent of about eight hundred feet, is a large hole through the precipice which forms the summit of this mountain, and is here from one to two hundred feet in breadth. This gallery is about forty feet high and sixty broad. In our ascent, we had been most of the time shaded by the thick foliage that rose above us, when turning from the forest, the view of this huge gallery, with its border of sunshine and the distant mountains, suddenly burst upon us, presenting a most beautiful vista. In ascending this summit, not a peasant appeared to vary the monotony of the forest. A universal silence seemed to reign, except as it was here and there broken by the rush of the torrent, on the roar of the distant cascade. Coming from such a scene, you can easily realize, that the vista formed by this gallery suddenly bursting upon our view on one of the loveliest days in June, with the bright sunny mountains beyond it, excited emotions rarely felt even in Alpine scenery. This was greatly heightened by the groups of strangers who had preceded us, and taken their seats under the shade of this lofty gallery. On the heights above, we saw the Saxon and Bohemian peasant girls, in their beautiful costumes, in groupes and alone, spotting the rocks, or half obscured by the foliage. They were accompanied or followed by their lovers, and presented a striking contrast to the wives and daughters of German gentlemen and of foreigners, who, like ourselves, had been attracted to this place, by the oft repeated question, have you seen the Saxon Switzerland. Here also, you behold the action of the water on the sandstone rocks, though in an inferior degree to the Bastey. Still, there is much that is grotesque and interesting in the variety of their forms.

A two hours' walk brought us to the summit of the small Winterberg, an elevation of twelve hundred feet, and in another hour we reached that of the great Winterberg, which, rising six hundred higher, overlooks all the neighbouring mountains. The view from

this eminence is very extensive, but as a whole, does not compare with that from the Bastey. The Erzgebirge chain of summits is seen in the south-west, marking its blue outline on the sky, while on the east the Schneekoppe, the highest of the Riesengebirge, just appears in the horizon. We found here a great number of young Bohemian peasants and peasant girls, who had availed themselves of this festival, for it was a day consecrated to one of the Saints, to ramble over their native mountains, and catch a view of the passing strangers. A crazy Saxon, who some fifteen years since had risen to the rank of colonel in the army of his country, had escaped from his keeper, and rambled to the summit of the Winterberg. For some reason, which I could not divine, he exhibited a peculiar predilection for my society. When I changed my place, he would soon follow me, and with a loquacity scarcely equalled by a torrent, he poured out streams of words on every object that happened to catch his attention. Fortunately for me, an English party arrived about an hour after us. Having much of the Cavalier in his temperament, he left me the moment he discovered them, and immediately introduced himself to one of the young ladies. A lover could not have been more attentive; and as he was perfectly harmless, they allowed him to remain. Although he had seen the shady side of fifty, he soon felt a heart-ache, and acknowledged, in the true spirit of an old Troubadour, the power of her charms. This tender subject soon brought out a declaration of his sentiments, which terminated in an offer of his hand. The young lady, coming from a cold foggy island, did not exhibit that reciprocity of feeling, which the colonel had anticipated, and probably, believing that she doubted the truth of his assertions, he threw himself upon his knees before her, and once more made her a proffer of his heart and person. A second refusal induced the old warrior to sound a retreat, and after a short period, he attached himself once more to our party, and talked away with the rapidity of a steam-boat.

We at length gave the Colonel the slip, by suddenly disappearing, as we wound our way down the Winterberg. After an hour's ramble we reached the celebrated *Brebische Thor*. This is a lofty bridge, connecting a long promontory with the mountain from which it extends. This natural bridge is about sixty feet in height, the

chord of its arch being at least eighty, forming a large hole in the promontory, and in appearance somewhat similar to the *Kühstall*, as descending the mountain you behold its lofty arch impressed on the bright blue heaven. From this promontory you enjoy one of the finest views which these mountains present. It is circumscribed in comparison with that from the Winterberg, but in many respects is preferable. After remaining here an hour, the colonel once more made his appearance, and seemed very much gratified to meet us again. Having had no auditors in his solitary ramble from the summit of the Winterberg, he felt new life as he came and took a seat by us, apparently resolving to improve every moment. Moistening his lips with the genuine Bohemian, he opened a battery, from which words flew at us, thicker than from a discharge of grape. As he had the lungs of a stentor, he rounded his periods with the emphasis of the instruments he used to direct, while in the field of Mars, as if resolving, that every inhabitant of those mountains should be edified by his eloquence. Having listened for some minutes to his conversation, he proposed to make one of our party in the boat which we had ordered to meet us at Tetscher. Not relishing the idea of passing several hours with him, with no means of escaping his vociferation, we once more gave him the slip, and descended the mountain. Soon, however, on looking back, we perceived the colonel in chase, his long lank form moving from rock to rock, and striding chasms, at which one whose legs were of ordinary length, would shudder. As he came within hail, he set up a shout, and discovering that we had observed him, requested us to stop, as he intended to accompany us. On arriving at the base of the mountain, we perceived that the old soldier was shortening his strides, as he had just overtaken a German gentleman and his wife, whom he had passed a short time before.

Tetscher, a few miles from the *Brebrische Thor*, is the first village of any magnitude in Bohemia on ascending the Elbe. Here we met an old soldier of one hundred and three years of age. He had served under Frederick the Great in his first campaigns. His mind was so nearly extinguished, that he could not answer the most simple questions. He repeated, however, the name of Frederick, as I made some allusion to his early life, the recollections of his

youth being the only impression that remained upon his memory during his long existence. He knew the value of money, and seemed very much gratified to receive it, bowing with his head as we placed it in his hand. This, with his recollections of his old commander, were the only proofs he gave of intellectually belonging to our species. It was a melancholy sight to behold the mind thus in ruins, while his vision and frame still retained much of their original vigour.

Here we found that our boatmen had arrived from Schandau, and embarking, we were soon moving down with the current. Not a cloud was in the heavens, and through a transparent atmosphere the sun was shedding a flood of golden light upon precipice, mountain, hill, and valley. The banks of the Elbe are in the highest degree picturesque, varying from plain to mountain, with rocks of every variety of form, now partially obscured by foliage, and again revealing their steep cliffs, whose ruggedness was softened by the mellow light which seemed to penetrate it.

Near the boundary of Saxony we discovered the form of a profile, projecting its huge nose and lips beyond the cliff to which it was attached. To this the boatmen for more than a century have given the name of Augustus the Strong, concerning whom many Saxons speak with the enthusiasm you observe in a Parisian, when looking at the monuments of the *grand Monarque*. As the court of Augustus was the most splendid in Europe after that of Versailles, they have paid a compliment to the French king, by naming another profile about twenty miles below it, Louis the Fourteenth. A third which resembles a female, they call the wife of Louis. Whether this is a representation of the Spanish Maria Theresa, or of Madame de Maintenon, neither our boatmen nor my companions could inform me. It was probably intended as a compliment to the latter, as the former died some six or seven years before Augustus ascended the throne. Could that much loved mistress and wife have seen it, she would not have felt elated, unless her picture which we see in the Louvre, has derived most of its beauty from the flattery of the artist.

At Schandau where we arrived at sunset, we found new travellers, waiting for the morning light, to continue their rambles. Wishing

to pass near the celebrated fortress of Königstein, we ordered our carriage to meet us at Pirna, and at an early hour embarked on board of our barge. Königstein, the "virgin fortress" as the Saxons style it, for it has never been taken, is perhaps the only one in Europe which can be called impregnable. Formerly, foreigners were permitted to visit it, but a short time since a law was passed, forbidding the admission of every one whose birth was not in Saxony. As I was thus prevented from examining its interior, my brief description will be that which I received from my guide, who has frequently visited it, and from several Saxons who are very familiar with its construction. The mountain on which it stands is 1200 feet above the level of the Elbe. The first half of the ascent the angle is at least 60 degrees. On nearly three of the sides, for it is in the form of a parallelogram, a huge precipice of sand stone rises 600 feet higher, and in no part of it is it less than three hundred. A winding path leads to the fortress, which is ascended with great difficulty, and this is entirely commanded by the garrison within. Around its edge is a lofty wall, which even one who had gained the summit of the rock, would find impossible to surmount. It encloses a tract of many acres that is always in a high state of cultivation, and which ordinarily yields sufficient produce to support a garrison of 600 men.* At an immense expense, a well has been excavated through this rock, to the depth of eighteen hundred feet, which yields the purest water. The walls are sufficiently extensive to mount several thousand pieces of cannon, though a hundred are sufficient to command the plain which spreads below. No enemy can approach securely within three miles of it. When Napoleon first conquered Saxony, he ordered several engineers to ascend the Lilienstein, a mountain three miles distant, on the opposite side of the Elbe, to ascertain whether it was practicable to make any impression upon the fortress. They found, however, that their balls fell without producing any effect, and after two days' trial they abandoned the undertaking. Unless the steam guns of Perkins should be found to possess a

* By supplying the soldiers with wives, I see nothing to prevent its being defended against a siege for centuries.

much greater propelling power than powder, it will probably forever remain impregnable. As Napoleon could not take it, he ordered the king to deliver it up to him, or give him three millions of rix dollars. He chose the latter, as his regalia, and all the *chef-d'oeuvres* of his gallery, had been previously removed thither. A garrison of six hundred men are always stationed here, to prevent surprise, as it is not more than ten miles from the Austrian boundary.

The view of this fortress, as you approach it, is very imposing. The form of the mountain is unlike any other in Europe, those of Saxon Switzerland excepted. Its lofty wall of rock exhibits much of the artificial construction of that erected by the engineers around the summit. As we passed below, I could distinctly see with a glass the sentinels pacing its ramparts, and even with the naked eye, could just perceive gleams of light reflected from their muskets, though the men had dwindled to Lilliputians.

At Pirna is one of the principal lunatic asylums of Saxony. For neatness and discipline it is excelled by few on the continent. The patients are about one hundred and thirty in number, two-thirds of whom are men. Most of the females, as the attending physician informed me, had lost their reason from disappointed love. As this passion is said to be more deep and lasting in Germany than in any other country on the continent, it is not perhaps surprising that it has thus affected the minds of so large a proportion of the sufferers. Here is a machine designed to lessen the pressure of blood on the brain. A platform, in the form of a bed, is attached to a cylinder, which, by means of wheels and ropes, is made to revolve with greater or less rapidity. The patient is placed upon this, with his feet at the extremity. A rapid revolution gives a far more accelerated motion to the feet than the head, and causes the blood to fly to the former. In most cases, this motion affords the patient great relief. In those which are very violent, they resort to baths, of which there is a great variety. In some, the water is thrown from a tube, the size of the stream being lessened or increased at pleasure. If this produces no effect, the invalid is made to sit up in the bath, when several large buckets of water are dashed upon his head. The electrical shock of this element, coming as it

sometimes does from the height of ten feet, has in every instance afforded some relief. This violent shock, is always succeeded by an agreeable sensation, and for a time the patient is easily governed. Most of the persons in this asylum are deranged but on one subject; on all others they are perfectly rational.

LETTER XXII.

DRESDEN, 1826.

THE Gymnasia of the north of Germany, are among the most interesting features of the literature of this country. They have long been considered superior to those of any other part of Europe; and at no period within the last century, have they enjoyed a higher reputation, than at the present time. It is at these institutions that the foundation has been laid for that fame, which so many of the *savans* of this country have acquired; and it is to them that the universities are indebted for their extensive reputation. No part of Germany has equalled Saxony in its system of classical education; and no where have the gymnasia attained that elevated character, which they have long exhibited in this little kingdom. It is true that Prussia within a few years has greatly improved her classical schools, and is rapidly advancing towards that excellence, which you so often observe while examining the institutions of her southern neighbour. Some few of her schools may almost challenge a comparison with those of Dresden, Meissen, and Leipzig; still, as a nation, she is decidedly her inferior. This results from her great extent; for the literary wants of a country, limited in territory and population, are much more under the eye of the government, than those of a nation like Prussia, which spreads over more than seventeen degrees of longitude. Her monarchs since the time of Frederick the First, have been so much occupied with national aggrandizement and war, as to have very little time to devote to the literary improvement of their subjects. Frederick the Great re-organized the Academy of Berlin; but he did little to improve the universities and gymnasia of Prussia. Since the accession of the present king, more has been effected to advance the literature of that country, than had been done for half a century before; and although inferior in this

respect to Saxony, and perhaps to Weimar, in proportion to her extent and population, she can claim the first rank among the remaining states of Germany.

Southern Germany (I here except Würtemberg and Baden,) is a century behind the north, not only in her schools and universities, but in every thing which raises man on the scale of intellectual existence. The late king of Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph, in the latter years of his reign, by increasing the salaries of the instructers, did much to improve the gymnasia of his country. Till within five years, their incomes were so limited, that few men of talents would embrace this profession; and the few that from poverty or other causes were compelled to pursue it, received invitations to fill the vacancies in the gymnasia of the north, as soon as they had acquired eminence. The present king, Ludwig Karl Augustus, is making every effort to elevate the intellectual character of Bavaria; and there is reason to hope, notwithstanding the opposition of the priests, that in a few years he will be able to place the learned schools of his kingdom on the same footing with those of the north. The gymnasia of Austria, are such as one would anticipate from a sovereign, who declared to one of the literary men of his empire, that "he did not want any learned men, he only wanted good subjects," or in other words those who would remain perfectly submissive, and pay without a murmur the exorbitant taxes which are imposed upon them.

During my residence in Germany, I have visited many of these institutions, particularly those of Saxony. The remarks which will here be made respecting them, are in many respects applicable to those of a superior character, in most of the northern states, but more particularly to those of this little kingdom. The word gymnasium as is well known, literally denotes the place where gymnastic exercises are taught. In the Spartan schools of this character, the youth were accustomed to run, wrestle, and perform other athletic amusements, to give to their bodies that strength and vigour, so indispensably necessary to ancient warfare. In Athens and Rome, similar schools were established; but to them were united a corresponding improvement of the mind. Here their most distinguished philosophers and rhetoricians gave their lectures; and here those young men were educated, who

were at a subsequent period to fill the most important offices in civil and military affairs. In Germany, the word gymnasium is applied to those schools, where the youth who are designed for the universities, receive their preparatory education. In some of them, gymnastic exercises are pursued with ardour; but in most of them they have ceased entirely.

These schools owe their modern origin to the Reformation. Fortunately for the cause of literature, Melanchthon and Luther saw the necessity of providing other means of education for their countrymen, than those which had previously existed. To this subject they devoted much of their attention; and through their influence, the funds of the monasteries which had been confiscated by the dukes and electors of the north, were appropriated to this object. Hence arose many of the universities and gymnasia of this part of Germany, which at that period were so well endowed, that they have continued burning and shining lights to the present time, and promise to enlighten millions yet unborn. To this event we must impute much of the intellectual superiority of the north to the south of Germany. In whatever light an enlightened Catholic may view the expulsion of the monks and the confiscation of their property, he will be forced to acknowledge, that a great temporal good has resulted from it.

The gymnasia of this country are divided into two classes: those which are private, where the boys are constantly under the eyes of the instructers, who live with them in the same edifice; and those which are public, and which are established in the large towns, where the youth reside in the city, and recite and attend lectures at the gymnasium. The last class are frequently called schools, with an appropriate name, sometimes still retaining that of the patron saint of the church near which they are situated. The instruction, however, corresponds so nearly with that of the more private institutions, that they will here be included under the same name.

At the head of these schools is a *Rector*, or President, and a *Conrector*, or Vice-President. The instructers are divided into two classes, *Ober und Unter Lehren*, literally, upper and under teachers. Before an instructer is permitted to occupy a vacant place, he is examined by the *Prüfungs Commission*, which con-

sists of the professors of the university who lecture on those subjects which are taught in the gymnasium, and of the directors of the gymnasium. The first class of teachers must have made such progress in the department in which they desire to teach, as to be qualified to give lectures at one of the universities. The second class must have a thorough knowledge of their particular province. If to instruct in Greek or Latin, for example, they are required to be familiar with the principal writers, and to possess a critical knowledge of these languages. The same minute acquaintance with their departments, is necessary in the other branches of instruction. The examination lasts five or six hours, and if found qualified, they are permitted to fill the vacant place of *Unter Lehrer* in any of the gymnasia which is offered to them. The salaries of the Rectors in Prussia, vary from one thousand to twelve hundred dollars; those of the Conrectors are somewhat smaller. The first class of teachers receive from seven to nine hundred, the second from three to six hundred, though this varies much with the funds of the institution, as well as with the size of the city in which the gymnasia are situated. The former class are required to instruct the students twelve, the latter twenty-four hours per week. They also increase their incomes, by giving private instruction to those children whose parents desire it.

The boys usually enter these institutions from nine to thirteen years of age, and remain from five to seven years, in proportion to the improvement they have made. The first two or three years are devoted to acquiring a knowledge of Greek, Latin, and mathematics; in which they are drilled with a minuteness of intellectual discipline, which I have never seen in the other schools of Europe. The succeeding years are passed in pursuing history, ancient and modern geography, French literature, Latin and Greek exegesis, &c. To acquire a thorough knowledge of these languages, they are taught to write and speak Latin, and in some of the institutions to write Greek. Subsequently, they translate from Greek into Latin, and sometimes from Latin into Greek. All the conversation, when the recitation is classical, is then held in Latin. The boys write Latin prolegomena to the ode or book they are reciting, which is first criticised by their companions, and then by the professor. The desire of victory that you often see in the objections which

the rival scholars bring against the individual to whose dissertation they have listened, as well as the ingenious defence which he makes, calls forth a literary enthusiasm in these combats, which would excite the admiration of any one, who had seen only the grammar schools of our country. In some cases, they write Latin poetry, by translating an ode of Klopstock or Schiller, or if they are the favourites of Apollo, they present their own effusions in Latin verse. These are publicly read by the authors, and criticised by their companions, and then by the instructer. Those who do not possess this talent, write Latin prose, which is read and examined minutely by their companions. The instructers often dictate to them passages from the poetical and prosaic works of the German classics, which they translate into Latin. They are then required to read it, and one after another is called upon to point out the defects which exist in the translation, giving his reasons in Latin. By pursuing this course for several years, you will easily perceive that they must attain a knowledge of the grammatical structure of that language, unknown in most countries. Accordingly, you discover that most German students speak it with great fluency and correctness.

The same severe discipline is pursued in other languages, though in none excepting the French, do they arrive at a similar degree of excellence, it not being thought necessary to speak either Greek or Hebrew.

In the languages, they read a part or the whole of Euripides, the Iliad and Odyssey, Xenophon, Herodotus, Demosthenes, Aristophanes, &c. Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, Tacitus, Livy, &c. some of the French classics, and a few books of the Old Testament in Hebrew. In mathematics, they study arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, conic sections, spherics and logarithms. In few, if any, of these institutions, are natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, and mineralogy, pursued farther than to become acquainted with the great outlines of these sciences.

Theological instruction is given twice a week, to which two hours are appropriated. Niemeyers manuel of theology is more used than any other. This is studied and recited by the students, who afterwards receive an explanation or illustrations from the instructer. The school is divided into six or seven classes, in

addition to those of Hebrew and French, for all the scholars do not study these languages. When one of them does not maintain his proper standing, he descends to the class immediately below the one of which he was a member. You find, it is true, some who do not make great progress, for dunces exist here, as well as in other countries. You observe however an enthusiasm, an intellectual discipline, and a proficiency, which, so far as my knowledge extends, you will find in the schools of no other country.

The great superiority of these institutions, results first from the exegetical mode of instruction. The remarks I have made on this subject in reference to the universities, are equally applicable to the gymnasia. It is true that exegesis is not pursued here with the same ardour as in those institutions, for this is impossible while laying the foundation of an education. It is pursued however to a greater degree than in most universities of other countries, even of Europe. This mode of studying throws a charm around classic literature, which makes it almost a fairy land to a student. With us "the dull hard lesson is crammed down word by word," until the student often hates his Horace, as much as ever Byron did. In the mere dull translations which we make in our grammar schools and colleges, all the "lyric flow" of the poet is lost. We read the language, and often translate it into words corresponding with those of the original, but the impression made on the mind of the student in usually so indistinct, that he wonders how any one can compare ancient with modern poetry. Why is this? It is because his previous education has not qualified him for feeling the beauties of the author he is perusing. He lives in a country whose religion, laws, government, state of society, customs, philosophy, language, natural features, in one word, almost every thing but the heavenly bodies which illumine it, present a different aspect from those of Greece and Rome. How could one of Napoleon's guard have understood the retreat of the ten thousand, if he had not previously become acquainted with the armour, marches, mode of fighting, and evolutions of the ancient world: how could Nelson have comprehended the battle of Salamis, from merely a knowledge of modern naval tactics? I have seen many intelligent Europeans, who although they have had almost daily opportunities of studying our institutions for years, were still unable to comprehend the na-

ture of their influence on society. How often do we see Frenchmen, even when Shakspeare is presented to them, unable to discover its beauties, when only a channel of twenty miles separates them from that land, where almost every heart beats to the sound of his lyre. If our contemporaries find it so difficult to understand our national character and literature, because they will not for the time lose their local feelings, and adopt those of the country whose institutions or literature they are examining, how is it possible for us to comprehend ancient authors without a previous knowledge of every thing relating to the moral, political, religious, and natural character of Greece or Rome?

Without a minute acquaintance with ancient Greece, most of the life, the beauty, and the sublimity of her poetry disappears. The mind wanders over the pages of its bards, without being much enlightened, the heart never feels those exquisite allusions and comparisons, which arose in the poet's mind, when contemplating the country of his birth. To such an eye some of the noblest creations of Grecian genius, some of the brightest conceptions of uninspired poesy are almost without form and colourless. The vale of Tempe presents no more loveliness, than one of our western prairies; the temples of their deities are as destitute of beauty, as a Chinese pagoda, or the residence of Juggernaut. While studying the page of Homer, he feels as Byron did when looking at the political degradation of the classic land of that poet;

"'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more."

to him every object is inanimate, and he turns from the perusal of the bard who has been the delight of more than one hundred generations to read the ephemeral rhymes of the day; and in their jingle he perceives more melody; and in their comparatively insipid thought he finds more feeling and energy, than in the verse of him, who has been the wonder of ages.

Why is this great difference between a German and an American youth? There is as much of the grand and beautiful in our natural and poetical world, as in his. We are not less susceptible to the influence of real or ideal loveliness. Our minds and our hearts are as much excited by a perusal of Hamlet, the Midsum-

mer's Night Dream, or Comus, as his by Faust or Wallenstein, or Oberon. The difference is this. He reads Homer with the eye of a Grecian who is familiar with its society, and with the thoughts and actions of the heroic age; we peruse the Iliad with views formed solely by the manners and feelings, and systems of the nineteenth century. The former by his previous studies, has been able to transport himself to a distant age and people, while we, standing at the distance of nearly three thousand years, look with the feelings we have acquired from our peculiar education, at a country which seems indefinitely remote. To him the siege of Troy is a living reality, and the characters of Sophocles, Æschylus or Euripides, are all embodied. He shares in every passion which they feel, for he is a spectator of their sufferings; their joys, their deliverance relieve him from a distress, almost as real, as if he had been their contemporaries. To him they are living beings, acting their appropriate part on the great theatre of life: to us they are but spectres, dimly seen through the night of ages, and flitting before us in forms so indistinct, as to leave few traces of their existence upon our memories. This is not fancy; it is no Utopian system of education, but one which has long existed in Germany. The admirable commentaries which are within the reach of every student, and abstracts of which are made the text book of every gymnasium, and still more the superior character of the instructers, whose research and unwearied application enable them to explain the most difficult passages, in a satisfactory manner to the student's mind, give the existences of the poetic world of Greece that reality, which we assign to the characters of Tasso or Shakspeare. With such assistance, his enthusiasm is soon excited; he wanders through ancient Greece with enlightened guides to explain to him every natural or moral, every religious or political feature of the country. He becomes as familiar with its rivers and lakes, its mountains and valleys, as with those of his native land, and though inhabiting a distant kingdom, the men who lived in the histories of Greece, or in the songs of her bards, become the companions of his mind.

There is another advantage which these institutions enjoy over those of every other country; the admirable subdivision of mental labour which is visible in all of them. So much has been said on

this subject, in my remarks on the universities, that it will not be repeated here. Our country is so defective in this respect, so satisfied are we to continue in the same beaten track, in which our forefathers walked, that I cannot avoid alluding to some of the other defects which exist in the grammar schools of our country. Most of these institutions, particularly in the northern states, have but one instructer, whose province it is to educate young men for the colleges and universities. The grammatical instruction in Latin and Greek, as far as they are acquainted with it, in geography and mathamatics, in one word, in every thing that is required for admission into our literary institutions, is taught by them. In each of the gymnasia of Germany, however, there are from eight to twelve instructers, to each of whom a different department is assigned. Here are usually from two to three instructers in Greek, and as many in Latin. One devotes his time almost exclusively to the grammatical construction of the language, one or more to the literature. As each has his particular province, and that of limited extent, he arrives at an excellence in his own department, which is rarely seen in other schools. Some of the instructers have a reputation for classical literature, which extends throughout Germany. The names of Thiersch, Crusius, Bornemann, and others, are universally known here, by the editions and translations of the classics which they have published, and the fame of the former many years since reached our shores. It is no very unfrequent thing for men thus distinguished, to receive invitations to the vacant chairs of the universities, and which they do not always accept, as they find the situations they fill so desirable. They view this as an employment for life, one which is so much respected, in which they act so well their parts, that they are perfectly satisfied. With us, on the other hand, most of our instructers are young lads, green from a college, where to say the most, they have never acquired a very thorough knowledge of classical, or of any other literature. They view these schools as mere resting places from the fatigue which always attends a young man in indigent circumstances, while acquiring an education. The two or three years passed at such schools, form a mere episode to all that is desirable in their existence. The great object before them is their future profession. This is the all-engrossing thought, and whether

they acquire an exegetical view of the works which are studied under their direction, and still more, whether their pupils pursue the classics in this manner, is rarely a subject of inquiry. As soon as they have by rigid economy, saved a sufficient sum to enable them to support themselves two or three years in studying a profession, they leave these schools, to be guided by some other individual, who has just terminated his collegiate course. In this manner, our youths are handed over to the guidance of one and another, often not much older than themselves, altogether destitute of that experience, so necessary to render the path of knowledge easy and delightful.*

I am aware that the northern states of Germany have been three centuries in bringing their schools and universities to their present degree of excellence, and that I shall be answered with the proverb, that Rome was not built in a day, a proverb which has done more injury to our country by depressing a noble enthusiasm, and by crushing rising effort, than all the good which was ever derived from the adages of our sages. Had it been applied to the enterprize of our merchants and farmers, where would have been the thousands, of vessels, whose sails are now whitening every ocean and river; where the countless towns and villages that now extend from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; where that enterprise, which putting forth all its powers, has almost rendered our country the hive of the world? Rome, it is true, was not built in a day; but a country whose resources and power will soon be greater than Rome was in the days of Augustus, has risen into existence, which now bears no more proportion to what she was a century ago, than the oak to the acorn from which it sprung. Shall we not then do something for the mind? Shall all our efforts be confined to canals, to wheat, cotton, and tobacco, and the intellectual character of our

* The remarks I have made on the subject of education, were written in Germany in the years 1825 and '26. Whenever they refer to our country, they allude to the state of education in the United States as it existed in 1823, when I went to Europe. It gives me no little pleasure to discover on my return to my native country, after an absence of four years, that so much has been done to improve the means of education. Messrs. Coggswell and Bancroft, in introducing the Gymnasium into the United States, have conferred a blessing on their native land, which should be gratefully remembered by every one, who rejoices in its prosperity.

country not be elevated? If we will manifest the same energy in providing the *materiel* of literature, that we have exhibited in physical improvement, the time will not be far distant, when we shall be as much respected by the nations of Europe for our literature, as we now are for that enterprising spirit, which forms so striking a feature of our character.

LETTER XXIII.

LEIPZIG, —— 1826.

I SENT you, some time since, an account of the churches of Prussia. I will now, in compliance with your request, give you a sketch of the present state of religion in the north of Germany, confining my remarks, however, to the Protestant churches; as I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Rhine provinces, Silesia, and Prussian Poland, where the Catholics principally reside, to answer your inquiries respecting them in a satisfactory manner. It will not be in my power to draw as full a picture as you will anticipate, for various reasons. There are no statistics which throw any light upon this subject. The Germans, also, have no common ground of belief, there being almost as many different creeds, as there are professors of theology. When inquiring of individuals belonging to each of the two great theological parties, you are also embarassed by often receiving directly opposite opinions on the present state of rationalism and supernaturalism. What is white at Halle or Göttingen, for example, is as black as Tartarus at Berlin, and Tübingen, and vice versa. Again, as to matters of mere fact and calculation, particularly in relation to religious statistics, the Germans know little or nothing. I have never found a professor, or clergyman, or student, who could tell me what proportion the orthodox party bore to their opponents. I have put this question to at least fifty of them, and the invariable answer was; it is impossible to ascertain. Another serious obstacle has been my feeble health, which for many months, has prevented me from examining this subject as minutely as was my intention. It will be necessary for me to introduce this subject, by alluding to some of those causes which have covered northern Germany with a skepticism

more general, than was ever visible in any other Protestant country. This subject is so extensive, that it would require a volume, instead of a letter, to do it justice.

The enthusiasm which was awakened by the Reformation, was felt over all the north of Germany, and before the death of Luther, several millions had renounced their belief in the Roman Catholic religion. During his life, he was able to control the church, by that influence which illustrious men, who stamp their characters on the age in which they live, always exert on inferior minds. The books which contained the great principles of Luther's creed, were regarded as standards of appeal long after his death, and at the close of the sixteenth century, theoretical Lutheranism was a necessary qualification for admission to the desk. In the early part of the seventeenth, the thirty years' war commenced, which continued until nearly the middle of that century. The desolation which flowed from the efforts of the Austrians to annihilate Protestantism, united most of the northern Germans in their hatred of papacy, but did little to elevate their religious character. A mere theoretical belief in the doctrines of the Lutheran church, succeeded that ardent piety which distinguished the Reformers, and many of their followers; and in the year 1650, the north of Germany was as deficient in religious effort, as it had been distinguished for it a century before.

The corrupting tendency of war is perhaps not greater, than the deleterious influence that it exerts on the literature of a country which is the scene of its ravages. This was most distinctly visible in the universities of the north of Germany, during this period. The spirit which Melanchthon had roused among the youth in the pursuit of Greek literature, and the almost equal excitement produced by Luther among the theologians, on the subject of exegesis, had principally ceased. An electoral command procured by the influence of Spener, was necessary, to introduce exegetical lectures at the university of Leipzig. This writer says, that he knew theologians who had been six years at a university, who had not heard one exegetical course. The dogmatical theology of this period was confined to their approved books of faith, and the study of ecclesiastical history had entirely ceased, the disputes between the Calvinists and Lutherans occupying all their thoughts. Spener,

in his *piis desideriis* states, that in the schools Latin was taught, Greek rarely, and Hebrew never; that in the universities, philology was almost unknown, and that many of the theologians did not understand the New Testament in Greek. Müller, Gerhard, and others, give a similar account of the state of theology at that time.

In such a period of speculative theology, Spener appeared, and by his unremitted efforts and ardent piety, was the means of exerting a greater influence over Germany, than any man who had appeared in the church since the days of Luther. His parents, who were very religious, sent him to the university of Strasburg where he attended the lectures of Sebastian Smith and Danhauer; and he afterwards proceeded to Basle, to study Hebrew with the celebrated Buxtorf. In 1666, he was invited to Frankfort, where, soon after his arrival, he established his *Erbauungsstunden*, or hours for religious edification. Here his parishioners assembled to hear his addresses, and for mutual examination on the subject of religion. These, as well as his catechetical lectures, excited not a little opposition throughout Germany. Spener defended himself by appealing to the faith of the Lutheran church. The university of Kiel examined this subject, and declared itself in favour of these assemblies, as being in the highest degree useful in promoting religion. In 1675, he published his work *pia desideria*, in which he states, that "the magistracy are to some extent destitute of a knowledge of Christianity—true piety has often been oppressed—a total reformation of the clergy is necessary—one can hardly become a preacher with a good conscience—many preachers lead dissipated lives," &c. &c. This work produced a great sensation throughout Germany: it was very extensively attacked, and he was loaded with approbrious names. Several of the universities, however, highly approved of it, and sent him letters, thanking and praising him for the course he had pursued. Dielefeld and others attacked him, calling him an Antilutheran and a Pietist, and accused him of holding the opinion that theological studies were of no avail without regeneration. To these charges Spener replied in his *Allgemeine Gottesgelahrtheit*, which was perused with great interest.

In 1826, he was appointed court preacher at Dresden. Within a few weeks after his arrival, an unusual interest was felt in that

city on the subject of religion. Saxony, at this time, was the seat of the Orthodox party; a name assumed by those who opposed the Pietists, of whom Spener was regarded as the leader. Here he directed the catechetical lectures, which had previously been entrusted to subordinate agents. This step exposed him not a little to the ridicule of his opponents. In this manner he laboured five years, when he received an invitation to the Nicholas church of Berlin, which he accepted, as the elector of Saxony was not a little offended with him on account of his earnest manner of preaching. Before leaving Dresden, however, he addressed a letter to this prince, admonishing him of the impropriety of his conduct, (for the elector had declared that he would not enter his church again,) and justifying himself for the course he had pursued. His efforts in Saxony were crowned with success, catechetical lectures being introduced throughout the electorate, and exegetical lectures also in the university. Not a small number also of the clergy and laity also embraced his opinions. In Berlin, (where he continued until his death in 1705,) he was very instrumental in procuring the appointment of Breishaupt and Franke, to the professors' chairs of the university of Halle, which were founded in 1694. The exertions he had made to persuade Frederick II. elector of Brandenburg, afterwards Frederick I. king of Prussia,) to found that rival university, the appointment of such distinguished Pietists as Franke and Breishaupt, as well as the great unpopularity of Spener, induced the professors of Wittenberg to publish a work against him, in which they accused him of holding two hundred and sixty-four heretical opinions. Among these were specified, that he taught that a holy life was necessary, in order to be a Christian; that abstaining from the society of the world, was a means of attaining internal peace; that he could learn much that was good from the Quakers, Anabaptists, and Papists; and that all who were baptised were not real Christians. After his death, it became a question in some of the universities, whether one could say with propriety, *beatus Spener*. Professor Fecht, of Rostock, published a pamphlet, *de beatitudine mortuorum in Domino;* and, in thirty-four paragraphs, he inquired, whether this could be said of Spener, and he decided "*quod non.*" Notwithstanding these decisions and accusations, the hours of edifica-

tion and catechetical lectures continued to be held, not only in Berlin, but in very many of the cities and villages of Germany, and great numbers embraced his opinions.

Some time before his death, Germany began to be divided into two great parties, the Pietists and the Orthodox. As early as 1686, while Spener was residing at Dresden, some of the *magistri theologiæ*, among whom were Anton, Schade, Arnold, and the subsequently celebrated Franke, united in publicly reading the Bible in the churches of Leipzig. Soon after this, the latter visited Spener, and on his return to the university, he established a *Collegium biblicum* for the students. This raised so much opposition, as to draw the attention of the court of Dresden. The affair was examined, when the university decided that nothing prejudicial had occurred. Franke, however, was forbidden to hold these *collegia*, although Schade was permitted to continue them. His audience, which consisted of almost one hundred students, was soon increased by great numbers of the citizens, who resorted to them for religious instruction. Schade, fearing that some disorder might arise from this great accession of auditors, was induced to exclude the latter. The citizens, not being able to resort to them any longer, established similar unions for themselves, from which great disturbances arose. This gave the Orthodox ground for new opposition. The universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg sent a united petition to the elector, requesting him to suppress Pietism, which was soon done. The Pietists were compelled to give up their claims to the stipends they had previously enjoyed; and it was enacted, that whoever held the *Erbauungsstunden*, should hold no office, and testimonials of the good conduct of such, during their residence at the university, were denied to them. One of the young theologians, who had been for a time excluded from the desk, on account of his Pietism, was permitted to enter it again, with the hope that he would reform. He then preached from the 8th of Romans, "maintaining that a penitent heart would perceive in itself a heavenly light, by which it would acknowledge Jesus Christ as its highest good in heaven and on earth." In consequence of this assertion, he was once more forbidden to enter the church.

The press became very active in this controversy. Benedict

Carpzov, in one of his pamphlets, calls Spener "*procellam ecclesiæ, tempestatem pacis, turbonem religionis.*" At Erfurt, the elector forbade all persons officiating at those religious conferences under a fine of one hundred guldens; and in many other cities great opposition was excited against them. In Hamburg, three clergymen, Hordius, Winkleman, and Winkler, had embraced the sentiments of Spener. They were attacked by John Felleyer, in a pamphlet entitled "A Warning for the City of Hamburg, composed in haste, but grounded on the word of God." Hordius had distributed among his people a work of Poinet, entitled "the Wisdom of the Just." This Meyer attacked, professing to find in it seven heresies; among which were the Socinian, Armenian, Quakerian, &c. In this work our Lord's prayer was recommended as a useful supplication for children; but he affirmed, that they must be taught to praise God with the heart, that the heart must be submissive to him, and that his grace must nourish our souls, must free us from transgressions, and keep us from sinning against him in future. Meyer declared in his work, "that it was the greatest degradation of the word of God, yea even a denial of it, to make conditions in the use of it." He also declared, that he felt in conscience bound to preach against Hordius, as an arrant deceiver and enthusiast. By his sermon, the inhabitants were so excited against the former, that he was compelled to leave Hamburg, to escape from personal violence. A similar hostility to the Pietists was visible in many of the other cities of Germany. Still, notwithstanding these persecutions, they gradually increased in numbers and influence.

Halle was, however, the principal seat of Pietism, where Franke, Anton, and Breithaupt, by their learning and labours, extended their influence throughout the north of Germany. They had all become personally acquainted with Spener, had attended his *Erbauungsstunden*, and embraced his sentiments. Franke, before he was called to that university, was invited to one of the churches of Erfurt, where he established similar meetings. The clergy of that city immediately applied to the government to remove him, and he was ordered to leave the town in two days. A few hours after this, he received an invitation from Spener to visit Berlin. A short time after his arrival, he was also chosen a professor of the

new university of Halle. Exegetical lectures were introduced soon after its foundation, and students resorted to it from every part of Germany. Although Halle is but a few hours ride from the universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig, this institution soon became a powerful rival of both of them. During the first thirty years of its existence, more than six thousand theological students were admitted. Educated as they were, in the very heart of Pietism, many embraced these sentiments, and they were thus extended through Prussia and other parts of Germany. Franke, who was professor of exegesis and hermeneutics, published his *manuductio ad lectionem scripturæ sacræ* and his *observationes biblicæ*, in which he pointed out some of the errors of Luther's translation. This roused the opposition of the Orthodox. Meyer published a work against him, entitled, "the works of A. H. Franke, a temptation of Satan." But in spite of this and similar attacks, his exegetical views were widely received and defended. In the university he excited new ardour for the study of exegesis, and established a *collegium orientale*, for those students who had already made considerable progress in the languages of the East. The *Erbauungsstunden*, and *collegia biblica*, were introduced by these professors in the university, who met regularly, to pray for the blessing of Heaven upon their exertions. The efforts of Franke and his coadjutors, to promote the cause of religion, were so unremitted, that long after his death, Halle continued to be the seat of Pietism.

In all reformations, weak minds are apt to exhibit more feeling, and often an enthusiasm which borders on insanity. The crafty and the wicked, gladly avail themselves of such excitements, and to acquire distinction, they often endeavour to "ride the whirlwind, and direct the storm." Germany during this period was the theatre of more enthusiasm, than any country of Europe had previously witnessed for more than a century. Sects arose in many of the cities, and their leaders, not unfrequently, acted more like the candidates for a lunatic asylum, than the spiritual guides of the people. Among these, a sect styled "Inspiranten," appeared in many of the towns, which professed to be inspired, whose leader, John Frederick Rock, a shoemaker, was enabled by the force of his mind, and by his power of persuasion, to enrol

many of the ignorant among his followers. The Butlerian and Evischen sects, formed by Ursula Maria Butler, and her daughter Eva. They held, that if the heart was right with God, the outward conduct of an individual was a subject of indifference to his eyes. Accordingly, they indulged in the grossest licentiousness, endeavouring to establish a Mahomet's paradise upon earth. The mother was prosecuted, and condemned to death, and executed in 1705.

The most extravagant of all these sects was the Ronsdorfian, so called from the town of Ronsdorf, where it originated; and the founder of which was Elias Eller, a ribbon weaver of that town. He declared that the new kingdom of Christ was near, and that the new Jerusalem would be established at Ronsdorf. He acquired many followers, particularly among the manufacturers, and was chosen burgermeister of that city. As his popularity increased, he caused two thrones for himself and his wife to be erected in one of the churches; announced himself the stadtholder of Christ; commanded those, who wished that their supplications should be heard, to offer them in his name; declared that his children would inherit the kingdom of God; and, when he appeared in the street, had persons preceding him, who cried, "Hosannah to him who comes in the name of God." One of the clergy preached against him, pronouncing him to be a deceiver. This so roused his indignation, that he excited the populace, who stormed and plundered the house of the clergyman, and drove himself and his family out of the town. Eller died in 1750, before any prosecution was brought against him.*

The Pietists continued to exert a great influence in Germany, so late as the middle of the last century. From that time, to 1813, religion continually lost, and scepticism as regularly gained

* For this account of the origin and progress of Pietism, as well as of the fanatical sects, I am indebted to notes taken at one of the lectures which I attended, while residing at the university of Berlin. For the remaining information relating to the causes which produced this overthrow of religion in Germany, as well as the views given of the present state of the opinions in this country, I am alone responsible. The facts which are stated, were derived by me principally from conversations with a great number of the professors, and other persons belonging to the two great Protestant sects which now exist in Germany; the Rationalists, and the Supernaturalists.

ground, until a belief in revelation ceased to exist among most of the literati, the clergy, and the intelligent laity. In no country, except France, that ever received the name of Christian, has unbelief exerted a more extended influence: in no one has it reigned with a more absolute sway. Several causes, peculiar to Germany, united in bringing about this great revolution in religion. These will now be specified as succinctly as possible.

One of the most powerful was the influence of Frederick the Great. The enthusiastic admiration which that monarch felt for French literature, was spread by his example not only through Prussia, but through all the north of Germany. The brilliant termination of the Silesian war, and the subsequent victories gained over the French, the Russians and the Austrians, raised him to the rank of the first soldier of the age. Though the inhabitants of that part of Germany, west of Prussia, gained nothing from his conquest, they derived not a little satisfaction from the lustre he shed on the German name. Whatever he did was observed, whatever he said was repeated, with an interest and ardour almost bordering upon idolatry. He became in the eyes of the Germans the sun of the northern system, and the influence of the electors and grand dukes of the north was invisible in the effulgence of his fame. Frederick, who was as desirous of literary as of military renown, re-modelled the Royal Academy of Berlin. To this institution he invited distinguished men from various countries of Europe, among whom were not a small number of Frenchmen, many of whom, to say the least, were distinguished for their disbelief in revelation. Scepticism, at this period, was almost universal in France; and of a number of the most celebrated sceptics, Frederick became the literary friend and correspondent. He invited Voltaire and others to Berlin, where the former was regarded with an admiration scarcely surpassed by that of his countrymen. The court, the capital, and not a small part of the nation, imitated the monarch in his unbelief; and through his influence the works of the French philosophers soon became the intellectual and religious guides of not a small proportion of the German literati. To embrace scepticism openly, and to attack revelation, became a matter of course; and all those who wished to gain the reputation of soaring above the prejudices of education, and of living in intellectual liberty,

imitated the monarch and the philosopher. The young, dazzled by the reputation of their sovereign, received him as a guide in theology as well as in literature; until among this class, unbelief became almost universal.

English literature at this time began to attract the attention of the learned men of Germany. The works of the English philosophers who flourished in the latter part of the sixteenth, and the beginning and middle of the seventeenth century, were translated and very extensively perused. Large numbers embraced their sentiments, both among the clergy and laity. The philosophical works of Hume appeared soon after their publication, in a German translation, and excited as much interest here as in England. They were the means of first turning the attention of the immortal Kant, as the Germans call him, to the study of philosophy. This celebrated man, was a professor in the university of Königsberg, where he acquired a reputation superior to that of any individual that has appeared in Germany since the time of Luther. Although he was never twenty miles distant from his native city, he was able by the force of his intellect and his logical acumen, to effect one of the greatest revolutions of the human mind, within the history of man. In early life he had distinguished himself as a mathematician. When Hume's philosophy first appeared in Germany, he studied the English language, that he might read that writer in the original. As early as 1781, he published his celebrated work, entitled, the "Critic of Pure Reason." For the first six years after its appearance, it excited little interest; and the publisher was about destroying the work, when an unexpected demand for it exhausted the edition, and several others, almost as rapidly as they could be struck off. He was soon regarded as the great master of philosophy in this country. Lectures were delivered on his system in many of the universities; and philosophers resorted to Königsberg from all parts of Germany, to see this wonder of the age. Many of the German princes sent the professors of their universities to converse with one whom the Germans almost idolized.

Some of the clergy expressed a wish to Kant, that he would present to the world his sentiments on religion, which he had barely alluded to in his philosophy. He accordingly published in

1792, his "Religion within the limits of mere Reason." This was like fire applied to gunpowder. It shook the faith of a considerable proportion of the clergy, who openly embraced his system, and enrolled themselves under his banner. The novelty of his sentiments, the force of his logic, and the boldness of his opinions, delighted the Germans. For many years, the dominion he possessed over the minds of his countrymen, was not surpassed by the subsequent military supremacy of Napoleon over their territory.

Kant thought that his system was much superior to that of Christ, and he speaks of it as such in his works. From the wonderful success which attended his opinions, he as well as his followers believed, that his new system of morals would become universal, and supplant Christianity. After he had enjoyed, however, for many years a dominion almost absolute over the minds of his countrymen, some of the younger philosophers ventured to examine his opinions. Among others Schulze, a teacher of philosophy in Göttingen, exposed the fallacy of his arguments, and the contradictions between the different parts of his system. The publication of his strictures on the philosophy of Kant, gave a great shock to the reputation of the latter, and induced others to look at him with less admiration. In a few years he was almost as universally attacked, as he had been previously admired; and his influence, which had been almost omnipotent in Germany, gradually became more and more circumscribed, until eventually few were willing to acknowledge themselves as his followers. At the present time his philosophy, like the receding comet, has ceased to attract the gaze of the nations, or to make them tremble. Of the twenty-two universities now existing in Germany, there is but one, that of Tübingen, where the majority of the professors are Kantians; and this may be regarded as the last asylum of this system, from whence it will not improbably soon be driven. It is true that there are still several of his disciples found among the learned men; for example, Krug in Leipzig, Fries in Jena, Reinholdt in Kiel, &c.; but some or all of these are only partially Kantians. His reputation however for genius still continues; and for acuteness of intellect he is almost universally regarded in Germany as without a rival during the last twenty centuries. In

this respect many even now view him, as having possessed more acuteness of intellect, than Socrates, Plato, or Aristotle.

During the blaze of Kant's philosophy, another luminary arose, which attracted the gaze of even the followers of Kant. This was John Gottlob Fichte, the founder of a system of idealism which was very extensively received here for eight or ten years. The fundamental doctrine of Fichte's system, is this: every thing which exists is the creation of the mind of each individual. During the time when Fichte flourished, the philosophers of Germany embraced their sentiments, regardless of consequences. This remark is peculiarly applicable to Fichte, who followed his system unintimidated by any results. Some time before he published his philosophy, he had occupied the chair of a professor in Jena. The sentiments he advanced while there, were regarded with jealousy, from their supposed dangerous influence over the minds of the students, and in consequence he was induced to resign his chair. He was soon invited to Erlangen, and at a subsequent period, he was chosen professor of Berlin university. In the commencement of his philosophical career, he embraced the sentiments of Kant, but afterwards rejected them and formed his system of idealism. This system, however, continued but for a short period, and before his death, which took place in 1815, his star had grown pale, and at the present time he has not a single follower among the philosophers of the German universities. As far as I have had an opportunity of ascertaining, it may be said, literally, that his system lives only in the memory of his former followers, and in the history of human opinions.

Before Fichte presented his idealism to the view of his countrymen, another philosopher had appeared, who has been able to maintain his influence until the present time. This was Frederick Henry Jacobi, a native of Dusseldorf, where he held a petty office under the government. Several of his philosophical works, which he published during the latter part of the last century, attracted the attention of the Germans to such a degree, that the King of Bavaria appointed him president of the Royal Academy at Munich, where he resided until his death, about six years since. Here he pursued his philosophical studies; and, with the exception of a short period, with a continually increasing fame. Jacobi rejects

the idea of an external revelation, but admits an internal one, viz. conscience. He acquired many followers, and his system was extensively received in the universities of Germany.

Jacobi met with a formidable rival in Schelling, who was also a member of the Royal Academy of Munich, and who is, at the present time, director of the Academy of Arts in that city. This scholar has acquired an influence here, superior to that of any other philosopher since the time of Kant, and he is now almost universally esteemed the "deepest and sharpest thinker," as the Germans express it, in their country. He is a follower of Spinoza, with some modifications of his opinions. He admits no spiritual God, but maintains a full and extended Pantheism, embracing animate and inanimate existence. His opponents represent him, as holding the belief that God exists in every part of being, ascending from the rudest matter, through crystallization, vegetation, and animation, to mind, which is the noblest part of the Deity. This Being, according to his system, remains inanimate in matter, grows in every tree, blows in every flower, and decays with the extinction of animal life. Jacobi, who had been educated in the Kantian school, embraced the opinion of the Königsberg philosopher, that the existence of God could not be demonstrated from the natural world; but maintained, that it could be from the revelation which is given to man, viz. the conscience. He accordingly attacked the system of Schelling, accusing him of Atheism; which charge, I believe, he proved satisfactorily to his own followers, if not to those of his adversary. To this Schelling replied with great severity, and he was able, by the prodigious force of his reasoning and satire, to gain a complete victory. He handled Jacobi with very little mercy, treating him more like a pupil than a competitor. This work diminished the influence of the latter, and for some time Schelling was victorious in most of the German schools. Within the last six years, the system of Jacobi has again been rapidly gaining ground. The universities of Halle, Jena, Leipzig, Göttingen, and it may be said with truth, the great majority of those in the North, are Jacobites. Schelling still maintains his ground at Berlin, and in southern Germany.*

* An apology may seem necessary, for this very superficial view of the philosophical schools of this country. My very feeble health, during the last

The philosophy of Kant acquired great authority over the German clergy, especially after the publication of his "Religion within the limits of mere Reason." The systems which succeeded his, have been adopted, in greater or less degrees, by the philosophers strictly so called, but have been much less popular among the great majority of theologians. As a knowledge of philosophy is necessary for admission into the pulpit, all the theological students were under the necessity of becoming sufficiently acquainted with it, particularly with that of the schools of Germany, to give a historical view of the systems which have appeared since the days of Leibnitz; still it forms only a secondary study, one to which they devote much less of their time than to exegesis, dogmatics, ecclesiastical history, &c. The novelty of Kant's philosophy, united with his brilliant reputation, made his work for a time as popular with the theologians, as with the literati of Germany. As his successors have enjoyed a much less extended fame, their systems have been much less read by the clergy, and they have been regarded by the students, with none of that profound veneration, which was almost universally awakened by their great predecessor. The philosophy of Kant exerted a powerful influence in diffusing scepticism among the clergy, not a small number of whom embraced the system of that distinguished man. To make scepticism universal among the theologians, another cause existed, which was equally powerful; I allude to the study of biblical criticism and exegesis.

About the middle of the last century, a great impulse was given to the study of Grecian and Roman literature, through the unwearied efforts of Ernesti, Heyne, and others, whose reputation attracted students in great numbers to the universities where they resided. Ernesti, who was a celebrated theologian, as well as a profound classical scholar, published his Hermeneutics, in which he applies the same rules of interpretation to the Bible as

eight months of my residence in Germany, prevented me from examining this subject, as I had intended. The few facts which are stated, relative to the great systems which have been received, and have exerted so commanding an influence on the North, were derived, almost entirely, from conversation. My knowledge on this subject is so imperfect, that no allusion would have been made to it, had not these schools been so instrumental in destroying the belief in Revelation.

to the ancient classics. He laid down this principle; *that the language and the history of the time in which the books were written, must be thoroughly understood, before any one can become capable of interpreting the Bible, or any profane writer.* Semler carried this principle still farther, maintaining, *that the circumstances connected with the time and place in which the author spoke or wrote, must be explained, and the general idea must consequently be reduced to that which is more definite.* Semler was also the first person who suggested the idea, that it is not the number, but the character of the manuscripts, which gives them weight in discovering the true reading, not only of the profane, but also of the sacred writers. This opinion, which is now admitted to be unquestionable, was at first regarded by many of his countrymen as in the highest degree heretical. It was, however, in a short time almost universally adopted. Michaelis extended the principle of Ernesti and Semler still further, both in theory and practice. According to him, it is not only necessary *to understand the situation and circumstances of the writer and people at the time and place in which the books were written, and the languuge and history of the time, but every thing connected with their moral and physical character; as well as every thing relating to those nations with whom they associated, just so far as they received their opinions or customs from them,* or in other words, *as their character was altered by such an intercourse.* These maxims, for they have been so generally adopted since as to merit that appellation, excited not a little opposition. When Michaelis published his compendium of dogmatics, it appeared to the divines and government of Denmark, to be so teeming with heresy, that by the order, I believe, of the latter, it was publicly burnt by the common executioner of Copenhagen. Many years afterwards, he received knighthood from the king of Sweden for his defence of orthodoxy; so far had many of his contemporaries gone beyond him.

The talent and learning of these great men bore down all opposition. The crowds of students who attended their lectures, soon adopted their opinions, and their maxims became in a short time those of the great majority of the German divines. The subject of *Higher Criticism* soon awakened great interest among their pupils, and a new science was thus introduced, or rather created

in this country, which till then had been comparatively unknown. An army of writers, led on by Eichhorn, soon made their appearance, who pursued their investigations with an ardour and extent of research, which awakened a general enthusiasm. Lectures on hermeneutics, exegesis, criticism, and oriental literature, so far as it is connected with the study of the Bible, were delivered in every university. By becoming acquainted with the age, and with the moral and physical situation of the writers whose works they were perusing, and of the people for whom they were written, they soon found, as they thought, that many of the opinions entertained by Luther and his contemporaries, and since his day descending from generation to generation, could not be supported by exegetical argument. The pioneers of this science, removed what they considered the barriers of prejudice, and inherited theology. They were followed by others bolder in their attacks, who advanced still nearer what they considered the citadel of prejudice; while others still more daring, eventually carried it by storm. During this theological contest, the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament was first attacked, and outwork after outwork was gained, until all belief in it as a revelation, was almost literally exploded from Germany. The epistles of the New Testament were afterwards assailed with the same weapons. The inspiration of one writer after another ceased to be believed, until by an almost equally large proportion of the theologians, they were also viewed as unworthy of regard, except so far as they contain a beautiful system of morality, and so far as they are historically interesting from their instrumentality in spreading Christianity. At a subsequent period, the gospels were attacked in a similar manner. The character of Christ was soon generally believed by the clergy, to have no more claims to our respect than those of Plato and Aristotle, unless from the greater purity of his example and of his code of morals, and from his exhibition of powers of intellect which most of them would have probably admitted to be much superior to those of the Greek philosophers.

Unfortunately for the cause of Orthodoxy, there were very few men of learning among its adherents, who were able to meet their opponents in the field. Of those who advanced to its defence, most were put entirely *hors de combat.* The immense advantages

which the researches of their opponents gave them, enabled them often to defeat their antagonists at the first onset. They were somewhat like the soldiers of civilized nations contending with savages: they were armed with weapons, the power and the uses of which were not understood until the conflict had commenced. They were thus enabled to take their own position, and advance to the attack at pleasure. Most of those, who pursued the study of Sacred Criticism and Hermeneuties with such ardour, were already unbelievers when they commenced their investigations. To soar above prejudice real or imaginary, and thus elevate one's self above other men, is a flight, the boldness of which is dazzling to the mind. This is peculiarly the case when one can raise his contemporaries with him above the mists of inherited faith, and thus be secure of having his name enrolled among the number of those mighty men, who have stamped their characters on the ages in which they flourished.

Lest some of my readers, from the remarks which have been here made, should imbibe a prejudice against the study of Hermeneutics and exegesis, it will be proper to dwell a moment longer on this subject. The general infidelity which pervaded Germany, from the time of Frederick the Great, prepared the way for the Exegets to arrive at the conclusion which their works proclaim. It should not only be remembered that most of them were sceptics when they commenced their investigation, but that the whole tide of public opinion was bearing onwards with great force towards infidelity, even those who still retained an inherited belief in Revelation. The influence of this almost universal scepticism was not surpassed by that of the French philosophers during the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century. If it is asked, why did not infidelity gain a similar victory in England; the reply is, that the clergy of Great Britain have always been on the side of Revelation, while those of Germany with very few exceptions were its most violent opponents. Whenever a people discover that the clergy are sceptics they will of course adopt similar opinions. This was the most powerful cause of the overthrow of the Christian religion among the people of Germany. It is true that a small number of the divines continued firm in their belief; but the number was very limited, and until the year 1808, it was continually

decreasing, when they were reduced to a mere handful. The Neologists not only greatly outnumbered their opponents; they were vastly superior to them in learning. Their new mode of warfare overcame every obstacle. The influence of learning is almost irresistible in an intellectual country; and there is reason to fear that it will be equally so in our own, whenever it is arrayed against Truth, unless those, whose duty it is to defend it, become thoroughly prepared for combat. If we would retain those invaluable blessings, which flow from the general belief in Revelation which exists in the United States, let us place our Theological schools on such a foundation, that the students and professors shall possess every means of defending Truth which this world affords. If our libraries are augmented thirty fold; if the number of professorships is greatly increased, so that the greatest advantages may flow from an intellectual subdivision of labour; if we are faithful to our Master, who has left us the rich legacy of his precepts and example; we need have no fear of attack, but relying on guidance from above, we may advance to any conflict, with the surest prospect of success. If this is not done, there is reason to fear that Neologism may hereafter prevail among us, as it now does in Germany.

The causes which I have mentioned were all-powerful in spreading scepticism among the intelligent clergy, the laity, and literati of Germany. The Pietists had almost ceased to exist; or at least they had gone into such retirement, that their sentiments were unknown out of their parishes, or immediate circles. So universal was this disbelief, that there were not in the year 1808, as one of the most distinguished Orthodox professors informed me, five clergymen in Germany, who dared to come forth and declare themselves to the world, as belonging to the Orthodox party. Dr. Janike, at that time the only clergyman in Berlin and almost the only one in that part of Prussia who held these sentiments, published a work in which he predicted, that in twenty years there would be no religious worship observed in that metropolis.

The unbelief of the literati and distinguished laity spread almost universally through the cities. As there is no common ground upon which they could meet the peasantry, scepticism was not so general among the great mass of the people. It is true that most of the clergy were unbelievers; still they rarely advanced senti-

ments in their pulpits, contrary to those contained in their books of faith. The rulers of the German states, as well as most of the clergy, regarded the pulpit as one of the most powerful means of promoting that good order so indispensable to the stability of government. The sermons of the latter were moral essays, which if they did not increase the number of believers in the religion of Christ, had an auspicious influence in restraining vice. The wars with France produced, however, an almost equally noxious effect upon a large part of the peasantry. Germany was for years the great battle ground of Europe, and the hostile armies were continually marching through its different states, exposing the inhabitants to every degree of suffering, and to all the temptations and vices which war brings in its train. The influence of the French soldiery over the lower classes of females, was as evident as that of the officers over the middle and higher classes. The morality of Germany lost ground continually; and during the many years of its subjugation, a most unhappy change became every where visible.

The clergy and laity of Germany are divided into two great religious parties; the Rationalists, and the Supernaturalists. The former were called some forty years since Naturalists, or those who refused to admit the miracles related in the Old and New Testament. The work of Kant, "Religion within the bounds of pure reason," and the fear that this word might be considered as conveying an idea approximating too near to that of materialism, induced them to drop the name of Naturalists, and to substitute that of Rationalists. The original line of distinction was a belief in miracles; the one class rejecting them entirely, the other admitting at least those related to have been performed by our Saviour. This line of demarcation has since been changed. The word Orthodox has been extensively adopted by the Supernaturalists, though they are still sometimes interchanged. To belong to the Orthodox party at the present time, the great points of Lutheran belief must be admitted; particularly the Trinity, the miracles of Christ, regeneration, the resurrection, future rewards and punishments, &c. The Rationalists universally reject the divinity of our Saviour, and regeneration; though some of them will admit other points of the Orthodox creed, standing as it were on both

sides of the line of separation. These are the two great classes; although from the Pantheist, and Rationalist, or Neologist (for the last two words are synonymous,) to the most rigid Supernaturalist, almost every creed which has ever existed is believed by some of the clergy. To enable you to understand the account of the present state of Orthodoxy, you will observe, that I shall make use of the words Rationalist, Neologist, and Naturalist, as synonymous. The terms Supernaturalist and Orthodox convey also the same idea.

Within the last thirteen years, Orthodoxy has been gaining ground rapidly. This change has been produced by a number of causes arising out of the peculiar situation of Germany, immediately before and since the peace of Paris. The most prominent were the following.

First. Scepticism, which had been gaining new and new victories for nearly half a century, had now reached its ultimatum. When the human mind in its love of theorizing has arrived at such an extreme, that it can go no farther without making shipwreck of reason, there is of necessity a re-action. This remark was peculiarly applicable to many of the philosophers and theologians. A philosopher with his eyes closed, may persuade himself with the followers of Fichte, that every thing which he had previously seen or felt, was the creation of his own mind; but the great majority of those who embrace such a system, will find their individual experience a complete refutation of it, a short time after its novelty has ceased to intoxicate them. The literati and students may, by the force of Schelling's mind, be convinced that there is no objective God, or one who is separate from the world and themselves; but this belief, after they have examined and reflected upon the wonderful adaptation of means to ends, which every day presents to an observing eye, will fade from the minds of those who have no favourite systems to support. Though a nation like the Germans may apply the same rules of interpretation to the Bible, as to Homer or Plato, they will eventually refuse to receive such, as would introduce chaos into all ancient literature, and completely destroy the *usus loquendi* of the writer and his contemporaries. By the interpretation of many of the theologians, the Bi-

ble was frittered away, until at length it meant every thing* or nothing.

Secondly. The calamities brought upon the nation by their subjection to the French, and by the numerous wars which preceded and succeeded their humiliation, were so great, that neither reason nor philosophy afforded them the consolation which they desired. The hand of heaven was heavy upon them, and to Heaven many of the afflicted looked eventually for relief. In their struggle for liberty, they supplicated the Almighty for his blessing on their exertions. The success which attended their efforts, led not a small number to believe that God had heard and answered their prayers; and that by his aid, they had been enabled to work out their own deliverance. This belief soon after the peace of 1815, was very general in Prussia, where the French yoke had been grievous indeed. The effect of their subjugation, and their subsequent freedom from foreign oppression, is said to have had no small influence in checking the tide of scepticism in that kingdom, and to a more limited extent in all the northern states of Germany.

Thirdly. The patronage which the king of Prussia and some of the other monarchs have afforded to Orthodoxy, has been the principal cause of this change. In some of my previous letters, I have alluded particularly to the fears of the German monarchs lest the desire of freedom should finally become so general, as to threaten the stability of their thrones. This seems to have been felt by Frederick William, much more sensibly than by any other sovereign. His withholding the constitution he had promised to his people, and the destruction of the secret societies in the universities, together with the punishment of the students, were not in the view of the Prussian government adequate means to secure the body politic. The disease was too deeply fixed to be removed by such slight remedies. In examining this disorder, Frederick and his ministers eventually discovered a medicine, which is regarded by the Germans as one of the most extraordinary ever applied to

* Professor Stuart in his Letters to Mr. Channing, has given a number of instances of this kind. Were it necessary, several equally extravagant might here be added, which I heard while attending the lectures of some of the Neologistic professors of Germany.

a political malady. This was nothing more nor less, than a gradual eradication of latitudinarianism, and an artificial introduction of Orthodoxy. They now embraced the opinion, that the systems of philosophy and theology, which had so long existed in the universities, were fitted to make disloyal subjects. The king thought, that if they used such latitude when speaking of the spiritual kingdom of Christ, the time might not be far distant when they would exhibit what he considered an equal want of reverence, in criticising his own character and conduct. As this scepticism was to be eradicated, it was necessary to select some religious system, which would become more instrumental in supporting the rights of royalty. He was induced to select Orthodoxy, and thus to avow himself a supernaturalist, from an opinion which the Orthodox universally hold in this country; that resistance to a legitimate monarch is a great sin in the eye of God. I was not aware until after my arrival in Germany, that any Protestant sect existed, that still held this doctrine as a part of their creed. During my residence here, I have conversed with many of the Orthodox laity, students, divines, and professors, and I have never met with one, and after repeated inquiries have never heard of one, who did not make it an article of his faith. They have not only contended with me that we were unjustifiable in our resistance to England, but they carry this principle so far, as to condemn the Greeks for their revolt from the Turks. When the success of our revolutionary struggle and the wonderful manner in which heaven has blessed us since our independence, have been adduced by me as a strong ground for believing, that God did not regard it as an unpardonable sin; they universally replied that our cup of iniquity was not yet full, and that a heavy punishment was in store for us.* Such an opinion is

* The king of Prussia, when he consented that his physician and two of the court preachers should call upon the nation to contribute to the relief of the suffering Greeks, found himself placed in a dilemma. By sending money to the Greek government, he openly admitted that cases might occur, when resistance was justifiable. To avoid this difficulty, the Prussians were invited to contribute to all the naked, wounded, and starving sufferers of that unhappy nation. I have not the Proclamation by me, and cannot quote the words. The phraseology of it, however, was so peculiar, and it was so often a topic of conversation, that I am certain that the precise idea, if not the language of the address, is here given.

exceedingly agreeable to Frederick William. This is the very principle of the Holy Alliance, of which he is one of the most active members. As the rationalists do not only disbelieve this, but think that we are now receiving our reward for our manly resistance to oppression, the king has within a few years, felt a strong disgust for neologism, and no one who publicly avows these sentiments, anticipates the sunny favours of royalty. Though the electors and grand dukes of the north of Germany, have not felt the same fears on this subject as the king of Prussia, they have been compelled through his influence and that of Austria, to assume at least the appearance of being unfriendly to an excess of scepticism in the universities; and in some of these institutions, orthodox professors have been chosen within a few years.

Frederick William has adopted two modes of eradicating neologism, which promise to be at least apparently successful. The first of these is the introduction of a liturgy into the Evangelical church. The means he has since made use of to compel the new theologians to adopt it, have been referred to in a previous letter. The second mode is, that of filling the professors' chairs with those only who are Orthodox. He had seen the immense influence of the universities, in the diffusion of scepticism during the latter half of the last century, and the first twelve years of the present. These fountains of rationalism he has accordingly determined, to make at least politically Orthodox. The profound attainments and brilliant talents of many of the neologistic professors had given them a fame, in which the Prussians gloried. Their authority over the intellectual part of the nation was so great, that the king dared not remove them from their places. He has chosen a more gradual method of purifying these seats of learning; that of filling the vacancies occasioned by death or removal, with men who not only profess, but who will also teach supernaturalism. He has not confined this policy to the theological department, but has made the orthodoxy of those who fill the chairs of law and philosophy also, to be to some extent the passport to his favour. As the lectures of most of those who fill these departments, are neither immediately nor remotely connected with theology, the Neologists have regarded this step with feelings of indignation. They say that men of brilliant talents are often overlooked on account of their liberality of sentiment, and

that supernaturalists of very inferior talents, are preferred even in those branches of literature, which have not the least connexion with theology. The neologists as well as their opponents, now admit, that orthodoxy is the stepping stone to literary preferment. By thus patronising the cause of Supernaturalism, the government are certain of finding many converts in such a country as Prussia: both because the natives of that country are born monarchists, and in the eyes of many, the actions of the king are holy in comparison with those of other men, and because the difficulty of acquiring a subsistence is so great, (for the literary market is crowded) that many will change their creeds for the sake of their daily bread. The effect of this measure of the king, has been a great increase in the number of orthodox professors. In Berlin, where a few years since there was not one in the theological department, they now form the majority; and in the other universities of Prussia, they exist in considerable numbers.

The effect of this patronage on true religion will be most unfortunate. Very many, who are Neologists at heart, will be Supernaturalists only in profession. All those who turn from interest, however Orthodox they may be in their lecture-rooms, will be unable always completely to invest themselves with this false garb; the cloven foot will sometimes appear. This effect has already become visible to both parties. The Neologists say, that there is very little more real orthodoxy at the present time than ten years since: the Orthodox themselves universally admit, that of those who profess and teach these sentiments, only a small proportion are so in truth; by this I intend, that they do not believe in that thorough change of character, which is inculcated by Christ in his conversation with Nicodemus, although they teach it to their students. The doctrine of regeneration is regarded by many of them very much in the same light as a political or mathematical truth, and as possessing little, if any more, moral influence. Such an exotic faith cannot flourish in the cold soil of hypocrisy. Nothing but the artificial heat which fear or interest will excite, can keep it from perishing. It will, it must be discovered, to be a native of another clime; and, when this is known, its influence will be deleterious. A hypocrite, whatever may be his faith, does more injury to the cause he has espoused, than

many sincere believers can counteract by their example. Why, in Italy and in France, are so large a portion of the intelligent men sceptics? It is because so many of the priests live in direct opposition to their professions. The people soon cease to inquire whether the precepts proclaimed are good or bad, but condemn them at once from the noxious fruit they seem to produce. Though precisely the same effects will not exist in this country, since the Germans are, comparatively, a moral people, they will extend so far as to lead a large proportion of the students to doubt the truths which they hear inculcated. But, although they cherish such doubts, they will, undoubtedly, in great numbers, become nominally Orthodox; for the only question with the government will be, is his creed right? and it will ask no farther. If this is found to be the case, they will, if intellectually qualified, be permitted to deliver lectures. In these, Neologism will be attacked, and Supernaturalism defended, so long as the tide sets in favour of the latter. Royal eyes have discovered it to be the truth, and such optics are peculiarly acute in Germany, where patronage is associated with the reception of the monarch's opinions. This royal keenness of vision will be praised and admired by all men destitute of principle, just so long as they hope to obtain a portion of the loaves and fishes, and no longer. Any creed, no matter what it may be, when thus resting on a factitious foundation, will crumble to pieces very soon after a change takes place in the religious sentiments of the ruler, or whenever he is succeeded by one whose faith differs from his own. It will then "fade away like the baseless fabric of a vision."

Of the number of Orthodox professors and teachers in the theological department, it is impossible to give you any very definite information, as I have yet found no German who could inform me. The majority of that faculty in Berlin and Tübingen, nominally hold these sentiments, and some of them are certainly sincere. In Halle there are but two, and in Göttingen not one; though Staudlein, who died after my leaving that city, had been for some years previous to his death, losing his attachment to Neologism, and rapidly approaching the line which divides the two parties. In Leipzig there are several; in Heidelberg at least two; and in Bonn two or three. In all the Prussian universities there are a number, though

there is none, excepting Berlin, which can be considered as Orthodox; that is, where the majority of the professors are of this character. The lectures of many of this class are attended by numerous audiences, although, with the exception of those of the Berlin university, the rooms of the Neologists are much more crowded than those of their opponents. During my residence in that city, the lectures of professor Neander and Tholuc were much more frequented than even those of Schleiermacher, who is universally considered as possessing the brightest mind of any theologian of Prussia. It is difficult to account for this fact, for eight-tenths of the students were Neologists, and of the remainder many were only, theoretically, Supernaturalists. Among the professors of the other departments, there are in every university, with the exception of Göttingen, a number who profess to believe in Revelation. In that institution there are very few, if any, who are openly orthodox.

Of the comparative number of Neologistic and Orthodox congregations I am ignorant, as there are no published reports respecting the Lutheran church. Were such a statement to appear, it would be almost equally difficult to ascertain the fact, as the peculiar sentiments of the clergy would not be alluded to. No one, to whom my inquiries have been addressed, has been willing to give me a definite answer; and when by repeated efforts I have succeeded in procuring answers, I have never found any two persons who have agreed. Both parties unite in saying, that Neologism has lost ground rapidly in Germany within a few years. The Supernaturalists assert that there is much theoretical Orthodoxy, but at the same time maintain that real religion is much more flourishing than at any previous period since the time of Kant, and that it is making new conquests every year. In support of these opinions, they allege that the number of theological professors has greatly increased; and that in many towns, where a few years since there was not one Orthodox clergyman, there are now several, and that the number is continually increasing. In Berlin, for example, where there was but one, there are now twelve, at least half of whom are said to be sincere Supernaturalists. In Elberfeld, there are now ten such congregations, where a few years since there were none. They state also, that

there have been reformations in various parts of Prussia, (they use this word in the same sense as we use the phrase, revivals of religion,) within a few years, and that they not unfrequently occur at the present time. How extensively these reformations have existed, is unknown, as there are no reports made of the state of the church, as no examination of individuals takes place, and as there is comparatively little conversation on the subject of religion between the clergyman and his people here. The church, as we use this word, is in Prussia, considered as invisible, and it is strikingly so to the eyes of a foreigner.

The opinions of individuals, belonging to each of the two great parties, on the subject of religion are endlessly various. There is only one common ground on which they unite; the reception, or the rejection of Revelation. This is the broad line of demarcation. Few of the Neologists agree, excepting on this point, being subdivided into many schools, in which scarcely two persons can be found who have precisely the same creed. They may be arranged under three classes: the proper Rationalists, the Idealists, and the Pantheists. The first class owe their origin to Kant. They make reason the touchstone to which they apply revelation. The Idealists* do not belong to any philosophical school, but take some of their sentiments from this, and some from that system. They introduce their philosophical notions into the Bible, and explain it in a symbolical manner. The Pantheists, who form a very small minority, accommodate Christianity to their peculiar system of philosophy. These are the leading divisions of Neologism. They might be divided and subdivided, until your patience would be exhausted.

Though there is not the same variety of faith, among the Orthodox, they are very far from being united. They agree in submitting reason, and every philosophical system to Revelation. On the subject of revelation, however, they differ not a little. Most of the Orthodox, I here speak of the professors, do not believe so fully in the Old as in the New Testament. The majority, however, of the clergy of that class, give equal credit to the inspiration of both. This want of belief, results from the critical

* This class must not be confounded with the Idealists, the former followers of Fichte.

investigations respecting the inspiration of the Old Testament, which have been published during the last half century. As yet no Orthodox writer has, in their opinion, been able to meet the arguments of Neologism. The majority of the Supernaturalists profess to believe the miracles of the Old Testament, though many reject them. As a sect, they believe that the books were written at a much later period than they profess to have been composed; and that as their authenticity has not been proved, the miracles cannot be. Most of them admit the miracles of the Apostles; and all, believe in those of our Saviour. Some of them, however, do not attach the same importance to the instructions of the former, as to those of Christ. There are a few who do not believe the Apostles to have been inspired, but what the proportion is I am ignorant.

The doctrine of the eternity of future punishment is almost universally rejected. I have seen but one person in Germany who believed it, and but one other whose mind was wavering on this subject. Many of them acknowledge that the New Testament seems to inculcate this doctrine; but they find it, as they say, so irreconcilable with our ideas of of the infinitely benevolent Being, whom God has revealed himself to be, that if they believe in his perfections, they must reject the doctrine. Some contend that it is not even apparently announced. To those texts which are generally believed with us to involve it, they give a different explanation in their interpretation; finding, as they believe, philological difficulties in the way. Some few would meet the arguments of those who believe it, by asserting, that the oldest manuscript of the New Testament, is of the sixth century; and that, during the Arian and other controversies which agitated the church from the age of the Apostles until that time; there is not only a possibility, but a probability, that some errors have made their way into the text. Others affirm, as one of the Orthodox professors who is considered to be eminent for his piety, told me, respecting himself, that this doctrine evidently appears in the New Testament, but that his heart could not receive it, unless he were to change his views of the character of God. That we now enjoy but a single ray of Revelation in comparison with the light which will burst upon our view in the future world; and that when we come

to behold the glory of God, as it will there be revealed to us, he believed that this apparent difficulty in his moral government, would be explained.

The belief in the Sabbath, as an institution binding upon us in the sense in which it is generally viewed in the United States, is universally rejected. In my conversations with very many on this subject, I have never seen nor heard of one who did not regard it as a Mosaic institution, merely. They say that "every day should be a Sabbath to the Christian, but that as we are required to assemble together for religious worship, it is necessary to select a particular day. As government have determined upon the day, it is our duty to observe that in preference to another."

The existence of religion depends on the observance of the Sabbath. Wherever it is observed, religion flourishes, and exactly in proportion to its observance. Should any one doubt this, let him compare England, Scotland, and the United States of America, where the Sabbath is exclusively observed, with France, Italy, and Germany, where it is comparatively disregarded. To me it appears that the Sabbath is the foundation of our political prosperity. A republic cannot exist without religion, and religion cannot extensively flourish without the observance of that day. If we should abolish the Sabbath in our country, the great barrier to that immorality would be broken down, which has destroyed most republics which have preceded us, and which promises to destroy those of South America.

The Orthodox regard us as very heretical in our views of resistance to oppression.* They implicitly believe in the duty of submission to your legitimate sovereign, for they make a distinction between one who has inherited a throne, and a usurper. The fact that every monarch of Europe acquired most or all of

* One of the Germans who was distinguished for his holy life, and for the benevolence of his heart, remarked to me, that he did not see how any one who believed, that under any circumstance it was lawful to resist your ruler. could be a good man. I have in no other instance, discovered the same narrowness of vision, or the same adherence to a minor point of faith. Perhaps this may prove a lesson to some one of my readers, who is disposed to shut the gates of Heaven upon all those, who believe ninety and nine articles of his creed, but who reject the hundredth.

his territory by the usurpations and conquests of his ancestors, or by his own, makes no difference in his claims to legitimacy. They accordingly justify themselves for throwing off the French yoke, on the ground that Napoleon was a usurper. As the Poles have been subject to Russia, Austria, and Prussia, during several successions, they would now condemn them for resistance. Thank Heaven that this article of their creed has never found its way into our country. They generally found this opinion on the direction of Paul to the Roman church: "let every soul be subject unto the higher powers;—the powers that be are ordained of God."

Some of those with whom I have conversed, appear to be eminent for their piety. I have never seen any Christians, who seemed to me to have a deeper sense of the odiousness of sin in the sight of God, or whose hearts beat with a more ardent gratitude for our Saviour, for the great redemption he has made for fallen man. I know of no examples of humility, greater than those exhibited by some of these gentlemen, or more elevated views of the character of God than you discover in their conversation. So far as an opinion can be formed of them from their reputation, and from their conversation, we must look in vain for brighter examples of piety than they exhibit. They certainly manifest a greater spirit of love for those who differ from them, than is found in most of our sects, and they feel very unwilling to shut the gates of heaven against all those who do not believe every article of their creed. In this charity and love, the Christians of most Protestant countries would do well to imitate them.

Predestination, as taught by Calvin, is almost universally rejected by the Orthodox. I have never met with a German who believed it. There are, however, a very small number in Elberfeld and in the province of Kleve Berg, who still receive this doctrine as a part of their faith.

In my letter on the churches of Prussia, allusion is made to the great difficulties which prevented the clergy from acquiring that influence over their people, which the same body of men exert in our own country. They instruct their children previously to confirmation, and their congregations also from the pulpit; but having no separate building, where they can often meet those who are interested in religion, they have very limited means of learning the

state of it in their parishes. From this cause, as well as from their comparative poverty, there is very little intercourse between them and the greater majority of their parishioners. The practice of making pastoral visits, as with us, is unknown. They perform the duties prescribed by law, but they are not, as with us, the Shepherds of their flocks. From the great retirement in which they live, their influence is greatly circumscribed, particularly in relation to the extremes of society; for these two classes in the large towns, rarely attend church, and in the country, have but a very limited intercourse with their pastor.

The sermons of the Neologistic clergymen treat principally of the duties of morality. They are often written in a fine style, and exhibit much compass of thought. Those of the Orthodox are not as much addressed to the conscience, as the sermons we are accustomed to hear in the United States: this results probably from the fact, that they are not so well acquainted with the heart, in consequence of their restricted intercourse with their parishioners; as well as from the scepticism of many of the nominal Orthodox. They rarely preach in such a manner as to alarm their hearers, believing that it is much the wiser course to allure men to truth and holiness, by exhibitions of the mercy of God, rather than by preaching the terrors of the law.

Metaphysical preaching, of which I have as yet heard none here, is regarded as injurious; as not only doing the hearer no good, but as also tending to harden the speaker's heart. Their sermons are more adapted to the understanding of their auditors, and by them they are understood. They preach doctrinal sermons, rarely; believing that those which are practical, are much more useful.

Their manner of preaching is sometimes animated in their utterance, but they are very hostile to gesture, on the ground that it may be regarded as an imitation of the player. This, to me, ridiculous prejudice, is universal in this country. If much of the effect produced by the actor is owing to his action, why should not the clergyman avail himself of this most powerful means of arresting the attention of his hearers? Why are the French and Italians more eloquent in conversation than any people in Europe? Because they feel no embarassment, and because they make gestures, whenever nature prompts them. I know of nothing more eloquent

than the gestures made by an infant in distress, or than the pantomimic action of Italy. Why should we not avail ourselves of this impressive language of nature? Action is one of the most powerful means of producing an effect upon mankind, whether it is seen in the pulpit, or the stage, or in our western forests. I should as soon think of not eating roast beef, because Talma and Devrient, the great actors of Paris and Berlin, eat it, as of not using my arms in addressing an audience, because they do.

LETTER XXIV.

Weimar, 1826.

Soon after the date of my last letter, I left Leipzig for Weimar, in one of those brilliant evenings so often seen here during the months of August and September. Goethe says, somewhere in his autobiography, that a very agreeable sensation is experienced by a lover, when a new attachment commences before the old one is entirely extinguished. Thus at the setting sun one beholds with joy the moon ascending on the opposite side of the horizon, and rejoices in the double splendour of those heavenly bodies. Though my residence in Saxony had not placed me in a situation to feel all the beauty of this comparison, I enjoyed in a very high degree the brilliancy of this almost Italian evening. As we left the gates of the city, the sun was drawing a rich mantle of clouds around him, which he lighted up with most gorgeous colours. In the east the full moon soon elevated her silvery form above the spires of the apparently receding city, shedding a brighter and brighter effulgence upon the expanding landscape, as the rich tints of the west gradually faded away. As we rolled on, the moon climbed her upward path, rejoicing in her brightness, and in the lovely scene which she illumined. It was at this hour that we crossed the field of Lutzen, so memorable in the thirty years' war, and in the recent struggle for liberty. On the left side of the road, a short distance from Lutzen, is a small monument of granite, placed on the spot where Gustavus Adolphus fell in the noblest cause for which man ever combated. Though less than two centuries have passed away since the hero hallowed this plain with his blood, no Protestant can behold this humble monument, without feeling emotions of a much more elevated character, than those which are awakened by

the mighty ruins that rise in the Roman Forum, recalling to his mind by their gigantic forms, the ages of departed glory.

The second battle of Lutzen, though not more obstinately contested, was more terrific in its carnage and in the number of combatants, than that in which Gustavus fell. As connected with the greatest events which have agitated the world, it will always be viewed with great interest; but when standing by the humble stone which reminds you of that hero's end, the modern contest is forgotten. No cause for which man ever fought was more holy; no monarch who has girded on the sword of battle, was ever actuated by purer motives than the sovereign of Sweden. His chivalric courage, the sacrifices which he made in defending the rights of conscience, the resources he exhibited in the hour of greatest danger, and the brilliant triumphs of his short career, rendered him the idol of his army, the glory of his nation, and one of the brightest ornaments of the human race. Nations wept at his fall, for he had wrought out for them a deliverance from oppression; and succeeding generations will regard him, to the end of time, as one of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

Weimar is not distinguished for its beauty or architecture. The palace of the grand duke is spacious, but the country seat of his son is in magnitude and taste, not superior to many of the palaces of the private gentlemen of the continent. Charles Augustus felt more interest in literature than in magnificent edifices and splendid furniture, and instead of consuming his revenue in ornaments for his palace, he appropriated it to his university at Jena, and to the increase of the library for the use of the citizens and of the distinguished poets who had been drawn to his capital by his patronage. This library now contains one hundred and ten thousand volumes. It is very rich in those departments which would be peculiarly interesting to the poet and philosopher, as well as in natural history, the favourite study of the grand duke.

The celebrated geographical institution of Weimar is the most extensive in Germany. Connected with it is a very extensive establishment of lithography and engraving, numerous printing presses, and a manufactory of globes. Hassel, the great geographer of Germany, superintends the geographical department of this institution. More than two hundred persons are here employed in

providing mental nutriment for Germany. This is one of the largest private manufacturing establishments I have seen, and as much more interesting than most others, as the wants of the mind are superior to those of the body. Herr von Froriep, the proprietor of this establishment, is one of the most interesting and accomplished gentlemen you will meet in a three years' ramble on the continent.

Weimar contained in 1821, according to Hassel, 203,000 inhabitants, of whom 184,700 belonged to the Lutheran, 6,100 to the Reformed, and 9,100 to the Catholic church. The yearly revenue is 1,875,000 guldens. The army is small, consisting of not more than 2000 men, which is about the number of troops Weimar must furnish to the Alliance in case of a Germanic war. The grand duke has given a constitution to his subjects, and the parliament holds its regular sessions. The inhabitants appear to care very little about their constitution, as the administration of the grand duke has been so equitable, that they have never been desirous of an extension of their freedom.

Weimar, the capital of the small duchy of that name, has acquired an influence in Germany, rarely enjoyed by a city of its limited population. The present grand duke, who inherited the dominions of his father in 1758, displayed, soon after he ascended the throne in 1775, the same love of literature which had distinguished his mother during her regency. His territory was so small in extent and population, that he clearly saw that it would be impossible for him to gain, either by conquest, or by the resources of his little state, much weight in the balance of power of Europe. As all monarchs love distinction, he resolved to obtain it by becoming the patron of literature in Germany. Goethe was then a rising star in the literary horizon of his country. The grand duke, whose mind had been formed by his celebrated instructer, the poet Wieland, soon discovered the talents of the bard of Frankfort. Accordingly, he invited him to Weimar, with the offer of a pension sufficient to enable him to pursue his literary career, without any of those trials to which the intellectually great are so often exposed. This invitation Goethe accepted, and in a few months after the succession of his patron, he chose that city as his future residence. Whenever the grand duke saw men of genius, he held out to them the most

flattering proposals, and in a short time Wieland, Goethe, Herder, Schiller, and Musäus, formed a constellation of the first magnitude, diffusing light, not only on Weimar, but throughout Germany. These men were the bosom friends of their sovereign, and in their society he passed many of those hours which were not devoted to the affairs of state. Enjoying that patronage so often indispensable to success in their career, they devoted their talents to various departments of literature, and in a few years gave a renown to Weimar never previously possessed by any city of Germany, and rarely, if ever equalled, by any other of moderate extent, since Athens ceased to diffuse its light over the south of Europe. Of this bright circle, the grand duke and Goethe only remain. They have beheld one and another of their companions called to the land of silence, and can now converse with them only in their works, and in the scenes which memory recals to their view.

Charles Augustus is now sixty-nine years of age, and with the exception of the king of Saxony, has reigned longer than any monarch now living in Europe. His reign has been marked by mildness and wisdom, and rarely has the sun looked down upon a people who are more attached to their ruler, or beheld a better sovereign. Ever since he ascended the throne, he has been a munificent patron of letters, and under his fostering hand, the university of Jena rose to the first rank among the German institutions. For some years it contained more than a thousand students, and among its professors it enrolled the names of Schiller, Schelling, Schlegel, Luden, Oken, and several others, men of whom any country might be proud. Since the death of Kotzebue, this school has greatly diminished in numbers, in consequence of the political excitement occasioned by the Wartburg festival, and from its having been the residence of Sand, the murderer of that poet. Some of the monarchs have refused to give their subjects permission to study there, while many young men have thought, that an education at Jena would prove a barrier to their success in life. In consequence, it contains at the present time less than five hundred students; and, until the political fever which agitates many of the governments of this country subsides, it will not re-assume its proper rank among the universities of Germany.*

* Charles Augustus died about the close of the year 1828. In his will he

Goethe is the *magnus* Apollo of German literature, and foreigners resort to this town from all parts of Europe to see him; many of whom, independently of his residence here, would be almost unconscious of the locality of Weimar. He has been for fifty years the favourite poet as well as prose writer of his country, and no man of genius, except Voltaire, ever had as much incense offered at his shrine. The mention of his name excites a glow in the mind of the student, and with his works every intelligent German is more familiar than with those of any other writer. The great difficulty of mastering this copious language, has confined his fame to this side of the Rhine, while the miserable translations which have been made of his works, both in French and English, have given but a distorted picture of his great and powerful mind. All the spirit of his poetry has evaporated in these foreign idioms; and the reviewers, who apparently knew little more of his works than what they derived from these translations, have amused themselves and their countrymen, who were most of them equally ignorant of the language of the original, with humorous sallies and satirical remarks upon the character and mind of one who has been the wonder of his country. It is from such distortions, that we have formed our opinion of a genius scarcely inferior to Shakspeare and Milton, and who in attainments yields not to the author of Comus.* Objects seen by the eye of ignorance, are usually divested of their beauty, and when beheld through such a dull medium as the translations of most of the German poets, or the

directed that his remains should hereafter be placed between those of Goethe and Schiller, the former on his right and the latter on his left hand. This is the only instance in the history of literature, where a monarch has, even in death, been unwilling to be separated from those who had no claim on his patronage but that of genius. Goethe is still living; Schiller died in 1805.

* Even at the present day, little is known in England of German literature. The Foreign Quarterly Review, in allusion to this subject says, "We Englishmen live far too much in a world of our own; we have too high ideas of the importance of every thing done in England, and are too apt to undervalue the proceedings of other countries. It need not be said, that we know almost nothing of the writings of other countries. A few poets, historians, and scientific writers, came over to us; but of the mass of writings on religion, reformation, and of change of opinion on the continent, we absolutely know nothing."

deep inwrought prejudice of most reviewers, they assume unnatural forms and colours. From these causes arise the different estimates which have been formed of Goethe and Schiller, in England and in Germany. The latter is only known in our language by a translation of Wallenstein, and by the works of his boyhood, especially by his Robbers, which he wrote at seventeen years of age; and from this puerile effort, when compared with the production of his manhood, many regard the mind of the author, as a blending of all that is wild and extravagant, as teeming with more *schwärmerey*, than ever filled the heart and brain of the most mystical enthusiast. In Germany, however, Schiller has created a national drama, and, in a country, too, where Shakspeare is as much read and admired, as in England and the United States. An enlightened people like the Germans, cannot for thirty years have formed such an estimate of their great dramatist, if his plays possess the character usually ascribed to them by the English.

Goethe has been for more than half a century, not only universally admired, but almost idolized. Monarchs, from the Neva to the Rhine, have united with their subjects in paying him the tribute of their homage; and not a small number have visited Weimar,* to behold the man who has elevated himself by the force of his genius, and his creative power, above any monarch who now sways his sceptre in Europe. His Iphigenia is the most classic poem of the last century, and strikingly exhibits the purity and melody of German verse, when moulded by such a mind. His countrymen regard it with admiration, as characterized by a purity of diction, and a poetic beauty, of which they were not previously conscious that their rich and glowing language was capable. No writer, except Scott in Ivanhoe, has ever produced such a picture of the feudal ages, as you find in *Götz von Berlichengen;* and while perusing it, you as really live in that wild stormy period, as

* From the Emperor Alexander, Goethe received the order of St. Anne, and that of Alexander Newsky. Napoleon presented him with the cross of the Legion of Honour; and, while at Weimar, in a circle of monarchs and princes, passed most of the evening in conversation with the poet. The grand duke has given him the cross of the White Falcon of Weimar, and the emperor of Austria that of the order of Leopold. In 1827, the king of Bavaria rode a journey to that city to visit the poet, and to present him with the grand cross of the order of Merit.

when climbing the lofty towers, or wandering over the monuments which spread such a charm over the landscapes of the Rhine. Shakspeare has never created a scene, where stronger, or more heart rending passion is exhibited, than in the visit of Faust to Margaret, while in prison; nor has his genius more perfectly developed the wonderful conceptions of his mind, than has been done by Goethe, in the three prominent characters of that extraordinary poem.* I am not here merely repeating the opinions which the Germans have formed of him; they are those of every foreigner I have ever seen, who has had a sufficient knowledge of the language to understand Faust in the original.

With such feelings towards Goethe, you can easily believe that no little interest was felt by me in beholding a man, who has been the pride of his country, and the envy of monarchs. Never was my curiosity more intense, than when I was ushered into his parlour, or than in the few minutes which elapsed before he entered. As the door opened, I saw approaching me, a tall form, slightly bending with age. I had often heard, that he possessed the noblest physiognomy of any of the literati of Germany, and although I had formed a brilliant ideal of his physical man, when beholding his lofty forehead, his beaming eye, and the beautiful features of his expressive countenance, I felt that there was a suitable mansion for such a mind. Though he has probably seen more distinguished society than any scholar or poet of Europe, he appears somewhat embarrassed when you are first presented to him. I should have imputed this to his ill health, (for he was slightly indisposed when I first saw him,) had not one of his most intimate friends subsequently informed me, that he had never been able entirely to conquer this feeling, by his extensive intercourse with the world. It is only after a long acquaintance with him, when the stranger ceases and you meet him on terms of familiarity, that you see the whole of his character. It is then that he opens to your view the rich treasures of his elevated mind, that you discover that deep feeling, that keen satire, that playful humour, and that intimate knowledge of every *nuance* of

* The introduction to Faust, and the scene in heaven, were added to it many years after its first publication. No one can peruse the last-mentioned scene, without lamenting that Goethe added it to that poem.

the human character, which are stamped with such power and beauty on the pages of Faust. There are few departments of literature with which Goethe has not made himself familiar; there are few which do not afford illustrations to his mind, when conversing with a friend. Though I had the pleasure of seeing him in several instances, I had no opportunity of hearing him in the rich flow of his animated conversation. Those, who have been thus favoured, describe it as the richest intellectual banquet they have ever enjoyed, such as would be anticipated by his most enthusiastic admirers.

During Goethe's residence at Weimar, his life has been one continued scene of prosperity. He has not, like most poets, who have arrived at his advanced age, outlived his popularity. He has had powerful competitors, who have contended with him for the first place in the admiration of his countrymen, but he has outstripped them all. They have, apparently, consented to acknowledge their inferiority. Though many of his literary rivals have been his companions at Weimar, the utmost harmony has prevailed in their circle; nothing having ever occurred, to lessen that friendship which continued until Wieland, the last but one of this brotherhood, had deceased. Many years since, I believe in 1782, Goethe received the diploma of nobility from his patron, and was chosen one of the ministers of state. This office he resigned after a short time, as the duties connected with that station prevented him from devoting his time to his favourite pursuits. Though now seventy-seven years of age, he is constantly occupied with his literary labours. He has recently disposed of his works for a hundred thousand rix dollars, the Diet at Frankfort having given to him and his successors, a copyright for fifty years. The purchaser is now printing a new edition of his works, much fuller than has ever appeared. To its appearance his countrymen are looking forward with not a little interest; not merely on account of the new works which it will include, but also from his strictures upon Faust, which he has promised to publish. This work has been more analysed, and has given birth to more criticisms, than any other which has ever appeared in the German language. As no two critics are agreed

as to the object of the writer, the literati of this country are not a little gratified to learn, that this chaos of criticism will soon be enlightened.

Goethe is as popular with the inhabitants of Weimar as with his countrymen at a distance. During the last year they showed their attachment to him, by preparing a beautiful festival in commemoration of his arrival in that city fifty years before. Some thousands were present to witness the tribute paid to his genius, in which all united with an enthusiasm which could only have been awakened by the love they felt for their illustrious fellow citizen. A few months before, they had celebrated the completion of the fiftieth year of their sovereign's reign, with all the gratitude which so beneficent a monarch has merited from the hearts of his people.

Goethe has written his autobiography, in a work entitled *Aus meinem Leben*, or Extracts from my Life, and this was afterwards continued in another work, bearing the title of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, or Poetry and Truth. In these works and in several others, he has presented a very full view of his life, from his childhood until some years after his removal to Weimar. He has here exhibited a most minute account of himself, so much so as not only to excite the ridicule of the Edinburgh Review, a few years since, but to make every reader wish, that the events of his childhood had not occupied so much of his thoughts. With this exception there is no part of his autobiography, which the reader who is acquainted with Germany, would be willing to dispense with, and the Germans themselves even peruse that with the greatest pleasure, so strong is the interest they feel in every thing which relates to their great poet. In his life he has presented the most exact account of the state of German literature, during the middle and latter part of the last century, which exists in any language. The reputation which he acquired in early life, made him acquainted with most of the literary men of the age, while his intimate knowledge of mankind, enabled him to present most philosophical views of the human character. I know of no work, in prose, which exhibits a more minute acquaintance with the heart, no one which for style and rich poetic thought is superior to it. The story of *Frederika*, is one of the most interesting romances that

has ever exlsted in real life ; as lovely as any which appear in the visions of boyhood. Her character, as drawn by his magical pen, is a union of dignity, beauty, and loveliness, seldom seen in this imperfect world. She soon becomes the companion of your mind, and often in the agitating and mournful scenes of life, she flits before your memory, like a gleam of sunshine in a day of clouds.

Weimar, notwithstanding it is the residence of the grand duke, is one of the smallest capitals of Europe, containing in 1820, only 8,773 inhabitants. Though smaller than one of the suburbs of Berlin or Vienna, it still has been, during the last fifty years, one of the prominent cities on the continent, and towards it the eyes of millions have been turned with the gaze of admiration. Here those illustrious for their talents, the creators of a nation's literature, have lived, here most of them have fallen, and are now reposing. Here genius has delighted to dwell, and here she has lighted up a flame, which has illumined Germany, and which will only expire when time shall be no more.

APPENDIX.

INDEX

LECTIONUM

QUAE AUSPICIIS REGIS AUGUSTISSIMI

FRIDERICI GUILELMI TERTII

IN

UNIVERSITATE LITTERARIA

BEROLINENSI

PER SEMESTRE HIBERNUM

MDCCCXXV – MDCCCXXVI A DIE XXIV OCTOBRIS INSTITUENTUR.

LECTIONES.

I. ORDINIS THEOLOGICI.

I. *Professorum ordinariorum.*

P. MARHEINECKE, Dr.

Privatim 1) *Encyclopaediam theologicam cum historia disciplinarum theologicarum* docebit quinquies p. hebd. hor. IV–V. 2) *Theologiam dogmaticam ecclesiae Christianae* quinquies p. hebd. h. V–VI.

A. NEANDER, Dr.

I. Publice 1) *Aevi apostolici imaginem* adumbrare *apostolorumque historiam* illustrare conabitur bin. p. hebd. hor. die Sat. hor. XII–II. 2) In lectionibus *de insignibus ecclesiae doctoribus* perget bin. p. hebd. hor. dieb. Iovis et Ven. h. XI–XII.

II. Privatim 1) *Historiam posteriorum ecclesiae saeculorum* enarrabit quinquies per hebd. h. XII–I. 2) *Epistolas ad Corinthios* et *unam alteramve ex minoribus D. Pauli epistolis* interpretabitur quinquies p. hebd. hor. I–II.

F. SCHLEIERMACHER, Dr.

Privatim 1) *Historiae ecclesiasticae compendium* uno absolvendum semestri tradet quinquies p. hebd. hor. VIII–IX 2) *Acta apostolorum* interpretabitur quinquies p. hebd. hor. IX–X.

F. STRAUSS, Dr.
I. Publice 1) *Historiam rerum homileticarum* enarrabit d. Merc. hor. XII–I. 2) *Exercitationes homileticas* moderari perget d. Lun. et Mart. hor. VI–VIII.
II. Privatim *homileticen* docebit quater p. hebd. hor. XII–I.

2. *Professorum extraordinariorum.*

I. I. BELLEMANN, Dr.
Privatim *Psalmos quinquaginta priores* explicabit dieb. Merc. et Sat. hor. XI–XII.

F. BLEEK, Lic.
I. Publice *evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci, Lucae* partem posteriorem explicabit horis constituendis.
II. Privatim 1) *Historiam criticam librorum Novi Test.* tradet quater p. hebd. h. XI–XII. 2) *Librum Iesaiae* explicabit quinquies p. hebd. h. X–XI.

A. THOLUCK, Lic.
I. Publice *historiam theologiae saeculi XVIII.* tradet et *principia Supranaturalismi et Rationalismi* explicabit.
II. Privatim 1) *Dogmaticen Christianam* quater p. hebd. docebit. 2) *Locos prophetarum Messianos* explicabit quater p. hebd.

3. *Privatim docentium.*

G. BÖHL, Lic.
I. Gratis *epistolas de Pauli ad Ephesios et Philippenses* d. Merc. et Sat. hor. X–XI. interpretabitur.
II. Privatim tradet *explicationem historicam dogmatum eorum, quae in libris symbolicis ecclesiae evangelicae Lutheranae et Reformatae proposita sunt*, quater p. hebd. h. X–XI.

G. BÖHMER, Lic.
I. Gratis *historiam sex priorum ecclesiae Christianae saeculorum* enarrabit d. Merc. hor. IX–X. et Sat. hor. IX–XI.
II. Privatim *evangelium D. Lucae* explicabit quater p. hebd. h. IX–X.

E. G. HENGSTENBERG, Lic.
Privatim 1) *Historiam Hebraeorum* tradet inde a primis temporibus usque ad Hierosolymorum excidium quater p. hebd. h. IX–X. 2) *Psalmos* explicabit quinquies per hebd. h. X–XI.

F. UHLEMANN, Lic.
I. Gratis 1) *Introductionem historicam criticam in Vet. Test. libros* tradet d. Merc. et Sat. hor. III–IV. 2) *Christologiam Vet. Test.* enarrabit et *prophetarum vaticinia de Messia* explicabit d. Lun. et Iov. hor. III–IV. 3) *Elementa linguae Syriacae* docebit duce libro suo (*Elementarlehre der Syrischen Sprache, Berlin b. Enslin*) hora adhuc constituenda.

II. Privatim *institutiones linguae Hebraicae grammaticas* tradet d. Merc. et Sat. h. II–III.

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1. *Professorum ordinariorum.*

F. A. BIENER, Dr.

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A. BETHMANN - HOLLWEG, Dr.

I. Publice de *processu concursus creditorum* die Sat. hor. XI–XII. disseret.

II. Privatim 1) *Institutiones iuris Romani* quater per hebd. hor. IX–X. et X–XI. 2) *Processum civilem* quinquies p. hebd. hor. XI–XII. explicabit.

C. G. DE LANCIZOLLE, Dr.

I. Publice *constitutionem imperii Romano-Germanici* die Vener. h. I–II. exponet.

II. Privatim 1) *Historiam imperii et iuris Germanici* sexies p. hebd. hor. VIII–IX. 2) *Ius publicam Germaniae* quinquies p. hebd. h. XII–I. docebit.

F. C. DE SAVIGNY, Dr.

Privatim *ius Pandectarum* hor. IX–X. et X–XI. tradet.

TH. SCHMALZ, Dr.

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II. Privatissime offert *lectiones in processum civilem cum practicis exercitationibus coniunctas.*

M. SPRICKMANN, Dr.

Privatim *ius feudale* quinquies p. hebd. III–IV. duce Paetzio tradet.

E. G. LIB. BAR. A REIBNITZ, Dr. prof. hon.

I. Publice *ius feudale* horis adhuc indicandis secundum librum suum tradet.

II. Privatim *processum Borussicum civilem* explicabit ac cum processu communi Germanico et Gallico comparabit, practicasque exercitationes instituet, dieb. Mart. Iov. Sat. h. IV–VI.

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2. *Professorum extraordinariorum.*

C. G. HOMEYER, Dr.

I. Publice de *iure rusticorum* disseret die Sat. h. VIII–IX.

II. Privatim 1) *Ius Germanicum privatum* quinquies p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. 2) *Ius feudale* quater p. hebd. h. IV–V. docebit.

C. A. C. KLENZE, Dr.

I. Publice *Ciceronis libros de republica* interpretabitur bis p. hebd. h. VIII–IX.

II. Privatim 1) Gaio duce *institutiones iuris Romani* tradet sexies p. hebd. h. XII–I. 2) *Historiam populi Romani usque ad Iustinianum* quater p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. docebit, iuris potissimum historiam spectaturus.

3. *Privatim docentium.*

F. G. E. BACKE, Dr.

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C. G. G. M. ROSSBERGER, Dr.

1. Privatim 1) *Ius Pandectarum* duce Mackeldey quinquies p. hebd. hor. IX–X. et X–XI. 2) *Ius hereditarium* duce Mackeldey quarter p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. 3) *Ius canonicum* ad Schmalzii compendium quarter p. hebd. h. III–IV. tradet.

II. Privatissime offert *examinatoria* et *repetitoria* tum de universo iure tum de singulis partibus.

A. A. F. RUDORFF, Dr.

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II. Privatim *ius hereditarium* quinquies p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. exponet.

C. I. L. STELTZER, Dr.

Privatim 1) *Ius hereditarium* duce Mackeldey quinquies p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. 2) *Ius canonicum* duce Wiese sexies p. hebd. h. III–IV. 3) *Ius criminale* secundum Feuerbachii librum horis adhuc indicandis sexies p. hebd. docebit.

III. ORDINIS MEDICI.

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C. A. G. BERENDS, Dr.

I. Publice *Hippocratis aphorismos* d. Sat. h. X–XI. Latino sermone illustrare purget.

II. Privatim 1) *Therapiam febrium specialem* quinquies p. hebd. hor. X–XI. docebit. 2) *Ad clinicen meäicam* in nosocomio regio in medicinae studiosorum gratiam condito h. XI-I. auditores quotidie instituet.

C. F. GRAEFE, Dr.

Privatim 1) *Aciurgiam* sive cursum omnium operationum chirurgicarum hor. III–IV. dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. tradet. 2) *Clinicen chirurgicam et ophthalmiatricam* in nosocomio regio chirurgico h. II–III. more consueto moderari purget.

I. HORKEL, Dr.

I. Publice de *monstris* disseret diebus Lun. et Mart. h. XII–I.

II. Privatim *physiologiam generalem* dieb. reliquis ead. hora docebit.

E. HORN, Dr.

I. Publice de *cognoscendis et curandis morbis syphiliticis* dieb. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII–IX. disseret.

II. Privatim *therapiam specialem* dieb Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. VIII–IX. tradet.

C. W. HUFELAND, Dr.

Publice 1) *Therapiam generalem* s. institutionum practicarum partem secundam tradet h. XII–I. d. Lun. Mart. Ven. 2) *Exercitationes clinicas medicas chirurgicas* in instituto regio policlinico una cum Osanno et Bussio h. I–II. quotidie regere perget.

C. KNAPE, Dr.

I. Publice *Syndesmo logiam* d. Iov. et Vener. h. X–XI. offert.

II. Privatim 1) *Osteologiam* dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. hor. XII–I. 2) *Splanchnologiam* iisdem dieb. hor. IV–V. 3) *Anthropologiam* s. *medicinam forensem* d. Lun. Mart. Merc. h. vespert VI–VII. docebit. 4) *Exercitationes anatomicas* senis p. hebd. dieb. una cum Rudolphio moderabitur.

H. F. LINK, Dr.

I. Publice de *Plantis cryptogamis* d. Merc. et Sat. h. XII–I. disseret.

II. Privatim *pharmacologiam* sexies p. hebd. h. VIII–IX. docebit.

C. A. Rudolphi, Dr.

I. Publice *anatomiam organorum sensuum et fetus humani* d. Merc. et Sat. h. IX–X. tradet.

II. Privatim 1) *Anatomiam corporis humani* sexies p. hebd. h. II–III. 2) *Anatomiam pathologicam* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. VEN. h. III–IV. docebit. 3) *Exercitationes anatomicas* una cum Knapio moderabitur.

I. N. RUST, Dr.

I. Publice *aciurgiae selecta quaedam capita* d. Iov. h. XII–II. proponet et operationes chirurgicas perficiendi rationem et viam in corpore mortuo ipse demonstrabit.

II. Privatim 1) *Chirurgiam universalem et specialem* sexies p. hebd. h. VII–VIII. matut. tradet simulque de *morbis syphiliticis et oculorum* disseret. 2) *Exercitationes clinicas* in instituto clinico nosocomii Caritatis chirurgico et ophthalmiatrico quater per hebdom. h. $IX\frac{1}{4}$–$X\frac{3}{4}$ moderari perget.

A. E. DE SIEBOLD, Dr.

I. Publice *artis obstetriciae partem theoreticam* duce compendio suo ed. iv. d. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII–IX. proponet.

II. Privatim 1) *Iis, qui in machina phantome dicta exerceri voluerint*, non decrit d. Lun. Iov. Ven. h. VIII–IX. 2) *Exercitationes clinicas obstetricias* in instituto regio obstetricio et in policlinico cum hoc coniuncto quater p. hebd. h. IV–V. moderabitur.

C. C. WOLFART, Dr.

I. Publice *semiotecn nosologicam et therapeuticam* sententiis Hippocraticis illustratam duce compendio suo *(Grundzüge der Semiotik* etc. Berol. 1817.) d. Lun. et Iov. hor. vespert VI–VII. exponet.

II. Privatim 1) *Nosologiam et therapiam specialem* ex suis schedis ad dictata quinquies p. hebd. h. V–VI. docebit. 2) *Ad praxin medicam* auditores instituere perget.

2, *Professorum extraordinariorum.*

I. L. CASPER, Dr.

I. Publice *propaedeuticen medicam* d. Sat. h. IX–X. docebit.

II. Privatim 1) *Formulare exerciitationibus pharmaceuticis illustratum* dieb. Merc. h. V–VI. et d. Iov. Ven. Sat. h. VI–VII. 2) *Medicinam forensem* et *politiam medicam* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. V–VI. tradet.

I. F. C. HECKER, Dr.

I. Publice *Celsi libros de medicina* interpretabitur bis p. hebd.

II. Privatim 1) *Pathotogiam generalem* exponet binis p. hebd. horis. 2) *Historiam medicinae recentiorem* quater p. hebd. enarrabit.

F. HUFELAND, Dr.

I. Publice *semioticen* dieb. Merc. et Sat. h. X–XI. docebit.

II. Privatim 1) *Pathologiam* dieb. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. hor. IV–V. 2) *Therapiae specialis partem aiteram* sexies p. hebd. hor. I–II. tradet.

C. JÜNGKEN, Dr.

I. Publice de *cognoscendis et curanis oculorum morbis* quinquies p. hebd. hor. IV–V. disseret.

II. Privatim *Aciurgiam* s. cursum omnium operationum chirurgicarum quinquies per hebd. h. V–VI. tradet. Demonstrationes et exercitationes in corpore mortuo seorsim instituentur.

III. Nec iis deerit, qui in *acologia* s. *doctrina de fasciis et vincturis chirurgicis*, in *operationibis ophtalmiatricis* atque in *singulis artis medicae et chirurgicae doctrinis* privatissime institui voluerint.

C. A. F. KLUGE, Dr.

I. Publice *elementa artis obstetriciae* d. Merc. et. Sat. h. XI–XII. proponet.

II. Privatim 1) *Artis obstetriciae partem theoreticam* et *practicam* d. Lun. 2) *Doctrinam de ossibus fractis et luxatis* d. Mart. 3) *Chirurgiam generalem* d. Iov. et Ven. h. X–XII. docebit. 4) *Clinicen morborum syphiliticorum* in nosocomio Caritatis d. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII–X. moderabitur. Demonstrationes et exercitationes scholis obstertriciis adiungendae binis p. hebd. horis seorsim fient.

F. OSANN, Dr.

I. Publice *doctrinam de usu medico aquarum mineralium Germaniae* bis p. hebd. hor. adhuc indicandis tradet.

II. Privatim 1) *Materiam Medicam* quinquies p. hebd. h. V–VI. tradet. 2) *Exercitationes clinicas* in instituto policlinico una cum Hufelandio moderari perget.

G. CH. REICH, Dr.

I. Publice de *morbis exanthematicis* d. Sat. h. I–II. disseret.

II. Privatim 1) *Pathologiam specialem* h. VIII–IX. sexies p. hebd. 2) *Therapiam generalem* quater p. hebd. h. I–II. offert.

E. L. SCHUBARTH, Dr.

I. Publice *pharmacopoeiam Borussicam* explicare perget d. Iov. et Sat. h. IX–X.

II. Privatim 1) *Chemiam tam universam quam pharmaceuticam* duce compendio suo (Berol. 1824. ed. 2.) senis scholis h. VII–VIII. mat. tradet. 2) *Enamina chemica et pharmaceutica* more solito habere perget dieb. Lun. Mart. Ven. h. IX–X.

C. H. SCHULTZ, Dr.

I. Publice *Plantarum officinalium historiam naturalem et medicam* ter. p. hebd. h. XI–XII.

II. Privatim 1) *Physiologiam experimentis illustrandam* sexies per hebdom. hor. XII–I. docebit. 2) Neque iis deerit, qui de *singulis medicinae et scientiae naturalis partibus* interesse disputatoriis voluerint.

W. WAGNER, Dr.

I. Publice *medicinam forensem* h. III–IV. dieb. Lun. Merc. Ven. docebit.

II. Privatim *materiam medicam* quinis p. hebd. horis tradet.

3. *Privatim docentium.*

FR. BAREZ, Dr.

Privatim *medicinam forensem* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. V–VI. tradet.

C. E. BOEHR, Dr.

Gratis *consultationes medicas* sexies p. hebd. h. VII–IX. instituet.

TH. G. ECK, Dr.

Privatim 1) *Physiologiam generalem* et *specialem* sexies p.

hebd. hor. VIII–IX. docebit. 2) *Doctrinarum medicarum et chirurgicarum scholas repetitorias* offert.

F. FRIEDLANDER, Dr.

Privatim 1) *Artis obstetriciae* partem theoreticam dieb. Lun. Merc. Sat. hor. II–III. tradet. 2) De *mulierum et infantium morbis* d. Mart. et Iovis iisd. horis disseret. 3) *Clinicen obstetriciam* d. Lun. Merc. Iov. Sat. h. III–IV. moderabitur.

C. OPPERT, Dr.

I. Gratis de *cognoscendis et curandis morbis syphiliticis* d. Mart. et Ven. hor. IX–X. disseret.

II. Privatim *therapiam generalem* d. Lun. Merc. Sat. iisdem horis tradet.

I. D. RECKLEBEN, Dr.

Privatim 1) *Artem veterinariam* in usum rei oeconomicae studiosorum d. Lun. Merc. Sat. hor. III–IV. docebit. 2) *Morbos animalium domesticorum contagiosos et epizooticos* et *medicinam veterinariam forensem* ternis p. hebd. horis exponet.

F. SCHLEMM, Dr.

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IV. ORDINIS PHILOSOPHICI.

1. *Professorum ordinariorum.*

I. BEKKER, Dr.

I. Publice *Thucydidem* enarrare perget d. Lun. Merc. Ven. hor. XII–I.

II. Privatissime *elementa linguae Graecae* tradet.

A. BOECKH, Dr.

Privatim 1) *Antiquitates Graecas et maxime politicam Graecorum doctrinam una cum iure Attico* explicabit quinquies p. hebd. hor. XI–XII. 2) *Sophoclis Antigonam et Oedipum Coloneum* interpretabitur quater p. hebd. h. X–XI.

F. BOPP, Dr.

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E. H. DIRKSEN, Dr.

I. Publice de *calculi integralis applicatione ad geometriam* semel per hebd. hor. IV–V. disseret.

II. Privatim 1) *Calculum differentialem* ter per hebd. hor. IV–V. 2) *Astronomiam sphaericam* ter p. hebd. h. V–VI. docebit. 3) In *dynamice* explicanda perget ter per hebd. h. III–IV. 4) *Staticen analyticam* tradet ter p. hebd.

P. ERMAN, Dr.

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F. H. v. d. HAGEN, Dr.

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G. W. F. HEGEL, Dr.

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S. F. HERMBSTEADT, Dr.

I. Publice *introductionem in chemiam theoreticam medicinae et pharmaciae applicatam* dare perget dieb. Merc. et Iov. hor. XI–XII.

II Privatim 1) *Chemiam universam* secundum experientiam et observationes recentissimas ad. compend. suum (*Grundlinien d. theor. u. experiment. Chemie*) et Berzelii (*Lehrbuch d. Chemie*) dieb. Lun. Mart. Merc. Iov. Ven. hor. vespert. V–VI. docebit et experimentis illustrabit. 2) *Chemiam agronomicam* opificiis oeconomicis et saltuar. applicatam duce libro suo (*Grundsätze der Kameralchemie*) dieb. Lun. Mart. Merc. Iov. Ven. hor. matut. VIII–IX. explicabit et experimentis illustrabit. 3) *Physicen experimentalem* dieb. Lun. Mart. Merc. Iov. Ven. h. IX–X. offert.

A. HIRT, Dr.

I. Publice *theoram architecturae* ad principia veterum bis p. hebd. dieb. Lun. et Ven. h. XII–I.

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I. G. HOFFMAN, Dr.

I. Publice *arithmetices politicae elementa* d. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII–IX. docebit.

II. Privatim 1) *Redituum publicorum rationem et administrationem* d. Lun. Mart. Iov. Ven. h. VIII–IX. explicabit. 2) *Statisticam regni Borussici* iisdem diebus hor. IX–X. tradet.

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Privatim 1) *Sectiones conicas una cum primis elementis calculi infinitesimalis* quinquies p. hebd. hor. XI–XII. tradet. 2) *Exercitationes in calculum litteralem, logarithmos, æquationes primi et secundi ordiuis et trigonometriam planam* habebit quinis p. hebd. dieb. h. XII–I.

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I. Publice *historiam naturalem ruminantium* dieb. Merc. et Ven. h. VI–VII.

II. Privatim *zoologiam univcrsam* sexies p. hebd. h. I–II. tradet.

E. MITSCHERLICH, Dr.

I. Publice *introductionem in chemiam experimentalem* d. Sat. h. XI–XII. tradet.

II. Privatim *chemiam experimentalem*, Berzelio Duce (*Lehrbuch der Chemie, 3te Aufl. Dresden*, 1815.) h. XI–XII. d. Lun. Mart. Merc. Iov. Ven. explicabit et experimentis illustrabit.

I. OLTMANNS, Dr.

I. Publice aget de *longitudinis et latitudinis geographicae determinatione ex observationibus caelestibus* semel p. hebd.

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II. Privatim 1) *Ius publicum et politicam cum historia constitutionum et administrationis civitatum praecipuarum coniunctam* quater p. hebd. h. XI–XII. 2) *Historiam recentioris aevi, imprimis sacculi XVIII.* quater p.hebd. h. XII–I. explicabit

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II. Privatim *geographiam universalem* qiunquies p. hebd. h. V–VI. docebit.

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II. Privatim docebit 1) *Aestheticen* quater hor. IV–V. 2) *Historiam architecturae antiquae usque ad tempora Iustiniani* quator hor. V–VI.

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Publice *Calderonis tragoediam el Magico prodigioso* ex Cygneensi editione interpretabitur, et origines linguarum, quae ex Latino sermone deductae sunt, explicabit dieb. Merc. et Sat. hor. XI–XII.

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3. *Academiae regiae scientiarum sodalium.*

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Publice *Dantis Alighierii, poetae Florentini, Comoediam divinam* illustrabit d. Merc. et. Sat. hor. XII-I.

4. *Privatim docentium.*

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II. Privatim *historiam antiquam* quat. p. hebd. dieb. h. III-IV. tradet.

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